The East Tennessee Historical Society's PUBLICATIONS

No. 20 1948

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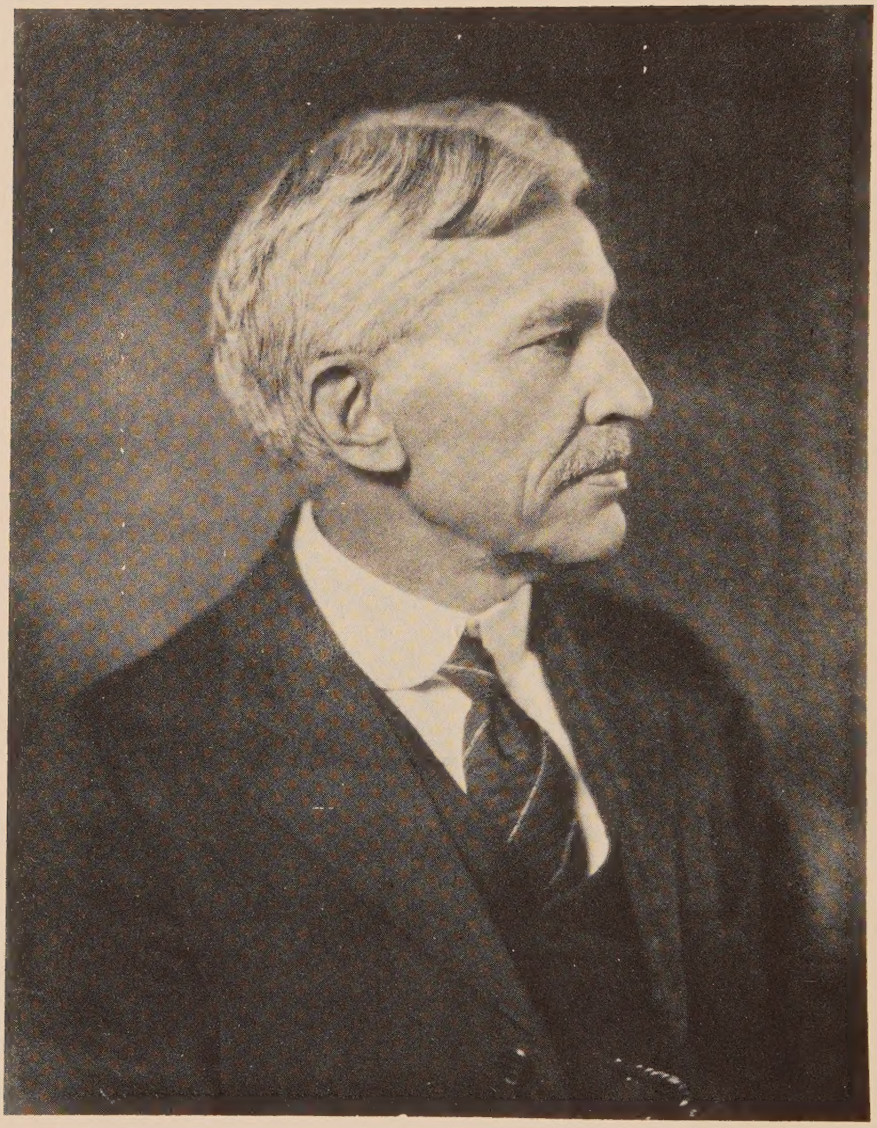

SAMUEL COLE WILLIAMS

January 15, 1864-December 14, 1947

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SAMUEL COLE WILLIAMS

By Paul M. Fink.

One great imperfection in the acquisition of knowledge is that one cannot possibly commit it all to paper, that perforce a great part must be retained and stored in the mind. The tragedy is that upon the death of the owner no part of this mental store can be salvaged or recovered. It is all irretrievably lost. Those who have a deep interest in Tennessee history are saddened by the thought of what a wealth of material must have gone forever at the death of Judge Williams, dean of the historians of the state. So much valuable history had come from his pen that there can be little question that much more was filed away in the capacious storehouse of his orderly brain. Students of the record of events of the early days may well be thankful that he was allowed time in which to put together so much in printed form for the benefit of posterity.

Samuel Cole Williams was born January 15, 1864, in Gibson County, West Tennessee, his birthplace separated by the full length of the state from the section where he was to spend the larger portion of his life. Early displaying an interest in law as a career, he entered that department of Vanderbilt University, to graduate and begin an active practice in 1884, before he had attained his majority. Already displaying great promise in his chosen profession, he was still a young man when he removed in 1892 to Johnson City, his home for the remainder of his life. Here he was associated in legal practice for a number of years with Judge S. J. Kirkpatrick, a prominent member of the East Tennessee bar. Shortly they were joined by Kirpatrick's son-in-law, John H. Bowman, forming the legal firm of Kirkpatrick, Williams, and Bowman, a partnership dissolved only by the death of two of its members.

In 1912 he was appointed chancellor of the First District. This seat he held only a short time, as the next year (1913) he was named associate justice of the supreme court of Tennessee, to fill the remainder of an unexpired term. The year following he was elected to the same seat for the full term.

Judge Williams acquitted himself with highest honors on the supreme bench. It has been said that only one other member handed down more decisions than he. So terse yet meaty were his comments that one prominent member of the West Tennessee bar said of him: "The profession is in agreement that Judge Williams wrote more law on a page than did any other Judge who ever graced the bench

of our Supreme Court."

When Emory University, of Atlanta, Georgia, looked about for an eminent jurist to head its Lamar School of Law, it could find no bettter qualified man than Judge Williams. In 1920 he became its first dean, to serve with distinction until 1925.

After the passage of many years, the legal code of Tennessee had become sadly in need of a thorough overhauling to bring it up to date in line with current legal thought and practice. A Tennessee Code Commission was named, charged with the important duty of revision and re-writing, with Judge Williams as its chairman. The result of the Commission's labors, all under Williams' close supervision and largely his own work, appeared in an eight volume form, known as Williams' *Annotated Code of Tennessee,* regarded by competent authorities as one of the best and most complete codes in use in any state.

Following the completion of this monumental effort his energies in the main were directed into other channels than legal ones. The writer recalls a conversation with him in the latter 1920's in which Judge Williams remarked: "My affairs are now in such shape that I need not worry about the future. It is my plan to devote my remaining years to historical study and writing."

In spite of relinquishing his active practice, at least one other high legal honor was to come to him. In 1938 the Supreme Court of the United States recognized his ability as a jurist by appointment as a member of its Advisory Committee on Rules for Civil Procedure.

One frequently-overlooked phase of Judge Williams' career, and a very successful one at that, is that of a business man and financier. Soon after establishing himself in Johnson City he became allied as legal counsel with strong financial interests working toward the development of the section, and took an active part in their affairs. During the financial panic of 1893 many large corporations had failed or suspended operations, and his keen mind and legal ability were in constant demand in their reorganizations or in the winding up of their affairs.

Banking early attracted his interest. Following the collapse of all banking institutions in Johnson City, The Banking & Trust Company, of Jonesboro, established either a branch or an affiliated concern under the title of The Jonesboro Banking & Trust Company of Johnson City, of which he was counsel and stockholder. This later was expanded to become the Unaka National Bank, in which he had a large stock holding and served as chairman of the board. When the ownership of this bank was sold to other interests, Judge Williams, with others, organized the Tennessee National Bank.

He was chairman of the board of this bank, also.

About 1902-1903 he, with Hon. W. P. Brownlow, congressman from the First District, acquired the properties of the Watauga Light & Power Company, and the Johnson City Street Railway Company. These utilities they enlarged and successfully operated until sold to New England capitalists in 1912. Besides these named enterprises, he very successfully engaged in real estate and other business operations.

Eminent though he may have grown in the legal world and successful in business affairs, it was as an historian that Judge Williams became most widely known, and as such he will be longest remembered. It was shortly after coming to East Tennessee that he became intereted in the thrilling story of men and events in the early days of Tennessee, and of the eastern portion of the state in particular. When the Washington County Historical Society began its short life about 1895 he allied himself with it. After its disbanding, his own interest remained active, to continue to grow and become the most absorbing activity of his whole life.

Many articles from his pen had been appearing in various historical publications before his first important book was given to the public in 1924. This, *The History of the Lost State of Franklin*, which he conceived and announced as one of a series to cover the whole story of the early days in Tennessee, was a comprehensive study of a phase of frontier development that had received scant attention from earlier historians. Logically written, amply documented, and with copious notes, its authenticity has never been questioned. Immediately it attracted widespread attention. So enthusiastically was it received and highly regarded that demand from students and libraries soon exhausted the small edition. Within a short time it was commanding high prices on the used-book market. A new and enlarged edition of this work was issued under the sponsorship of the Colonial Dames in 1933. Like the original, it, too, soon went out of print.

Next in his series of books were three edited editions of important works long out of print and available for study only in the largest libraries: *The Memoirs of Lieut. Henry Timberlake, Adair's History of the American Indians,* and *Early Travels in the Tennessee Country,* the latter a collection from many sources of all travelers' accounts of visits to Tennessee prior to 1800. The first two have now been out of print for some time.

It is not the purpose of this sketch to list seriatim the numerous books from the pen of Judge Williams, a complete list of whose writings will be found elsewhere in this number of the *Publications.*

Suffice it to say that at the time of his death his ambition to tell the whole story of Tennessee up to the date of its statehood had been accomplished, save for one gap, the territorial period. Had he been spared only a few months longer this too would have been completed, for the work of preparation was already far along.

In addition to his many books, Judge Williams contributed scores of articles on historical and legal subjects to various newspapers, magazines, and other publications. His many years of research in the major collections of early Americana in this country and abroad, his own superb library, and his close familiarity with and ability to evaluate fairly source material gave to his writing a sense of authenticity that was unquestionable. Should criticism be levelled at them, it was never a doubt of the truth of any statement made or the validity of any authority cited. Rather, it might be that his judicial trend of thought, backed by many years of legal practice, caused him to present facts tersely and concisely, omitting those bits of local color and human interest so pleasing to many. To his manner of thinking, these were non-essential, solely serving to cloud the issue and divert the mind of the reader from the main facts of the case.

The East Tennessee Historical Society was organized in 1925. At the time Judge Williams was residing in Atlanta, as dean of the Lamar School of Law, and is not listed as one of the charter members. He joined only a few weeks later, and at the April meeting made an address on "A Forgotten Campaign."

In the year 1928 he was elected president. During his term of office he presented the idea of an annual publication, to make available for others the most significant of the papers presented before the Society, and proposed a personal contribution of $50.00 toward the expense of the initial number. He also suggested the three classes of membership: active, sustaining, and life. He became one of the first sustaining members, and a few years later a life member. In 1929 he was re-elected president. Urging an aggressive campaign for a larger membership, he personally secured a considerable number from among his associates, and was instrumental in attracting others.

Over the years Judge Williams served the Society as president, vice president, member of the board of editors, and as managing editor. Nearly two score papers either were read at the Society's meeting or contributed to its *Publications*. In addition, he made attempts to secure a permanent endowment for the Society from wealthy individuals, though his efforts were without success.

In the Tennessee Historical Society, he served as president and in other capacities, and contributed many articles for its several periodicals. When the earlier *Tennessee Historical Magazine* had been

discontinued and efforts to revive it met with little encouragement, his assistance and wise advice gave the much needed impetus that brought into being the *Tennessee Historical Quarterly,* an outstanding journal in the state historical field.

Judge Williams served for many years as chairman of the Tennessee Historical Commission, and it is largely due to his energy and interest that many markers have been placed and historic sites saved over the whole state. In upper East Tennessee, he was instrumental in the acquisition into public ownership and the marking of the William Cobb home, where William Blount first established his territorial headquarters, and the John Tipton-Landon Haynes home, on the outskirts of Johnson City. When advancing years caused him to relinquish the active duties of the chairmanship of the Commission, he was named chairman emeritus for life.

Tennessee's Sesquicentennial was celebrated in 1946. For years he had been looking forward to this occasion, planning, advising, and encouraging others, and to him more than to any one other person is due the success of the many observances held in different parts of the state. He suggested the design of the special stamp issued by the U. S. Postoffice Department commemorating the Sesquicentennial.

During the observances held at Nashville on June 1, 1946, Governor Jim McCord presented to Judge Williams a beautiful hand-illuminated scroll, whose words so eloquently testify to the high regard all Tennesseans hold for his work in the field of history:

To Samuel Cole Williams, L.L.D., Greetings: Upon this occasion of the observance of the Sesquicentennial Anniversary of Tennessee's statehood, it gives me a distinct pleasure to salute you as the outstanding historian of the state. None of the United States has a richer heritage of historical background than Tennessee. With a diligence and skill excelled by none, you have searched out and recorded this history of the state, that those generations of Tennesseans who follow us through the centuries may be inspired to revere the memory of the men who laid the foundation of Tennessee's greatness. Combining scholarship and literary skill, you have produced a series of historical works which have enriched the literature of the state and the nation and will stand as an enduring monument to your fame. As chairman of the Tennessee Historical Commission you have led the way in the activities which have culminated in this official celebration of our century and a half of statehood. All those who have been associated with you in this work admire your vision and energetic leadership and will ever hold you in esteem, respect, and affection. As Governor of Tennessee, I regard it as a privilege to deliver to you this expression of the veneration in which you are justly held by the people of the state you have so unselfishly and ably served. Given under my hand and seal, this first day of June, in the year of our Lord One Thousand, Nine Hundred and Forty Six.

Jim McCord,
Governor

While he continued to work compiling the material for the last of his planned series, "The History of the Southwest Territory," he made few public appearances after the Sesquicentennial. As the months passed he grew more frail, but was ill for only a short time before his death on December 14, 1947. The funeral services were at the Munsey Memorial Methodist Church in Johnson City, where he had long been a devout member, with interment in Monte Vista Burial Park.

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Compiled by Pollyanna Creekmore

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MOSES FISK

By Samuel C. Williams

Moses Fisk[1] was born in Grafton, Massachusetts, in 1759, the son of Peter and Sarah (Perry) Fisk. He was descended from an ancient English family of Suffolk County, England. This Suffolk family of Fiske dates back as far as the year 1208 when David Fisk resided in Laxfield. In the reign of Henry VIII Simon Fiske was lord of the manor of Stanbaugh, in Suffolk.[2]

Moses Fisk attended Dartmouth College, New Hampshire, from which he graduated in 1786. He was granted the degree of Master of Arts and continued as a tutor at Dartmouth from 1788 until 1795.[3] His success as a tutor was attested by one of his pupils, General E. W. Ripley, who gained national reputation.[4] Writing to Fisk in 1817, the General paid him this tribute:

> If it has been my lot to acquire distinction or reputation; if I have served the interests of my country in any manner however limited, the cause of it may be traced to the admonitions and precepts of three respectable benefactors: yourself, Captain Dunham and Wm. Woodard.[5]

Fisk left New England in 1795, his eyes turning to the south-

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[1]The family name in New England was spelled "Fiske", but in Tennessee Moses omitted the "e". In England the name had variations: Fisc, Ffiske, Fisk, and Fiske. One researcher states that the family migrated to England from France.

[2]For a more detailed general treatment of the family see: Fredrick C. Pierce, *Fiske-Fisk Family . . .* (Chicago, 1896); also accounts in periodicals: *New England Historical and Genealogical Register,* Vols. 37, 38, 52, and several instalments on the Fiske family contributed by G. Andrews Moriarity to Vols. 86 (for 1932), 87 (for 1933), and 92 (for 1938). These accounts were based on researches in England, and ran through several issues of the *Register* for each year mentioned. The family in England gained such distinction that in 1633 it received the grant of a coat of arms: Chequy argent and gules on pale sable, three mullets, pierced; crest on a triangle, argent on estoile. It is not probably that the family in Tennessee made use of this coat of arms.

John Fiske (1842-1901), the poular historian, author of the *Beginnings of New England, Old Virginia and Her Neighbors,* etc., was of this family—his great-grandfather being a John Fiske, seemingly a naval officer, born 1794 and died 1797.

[3]George T. Chapman, *Sketches of the Alumni of Dartmouth College* (Cambridge, 1867), 41. Fisk's reputation as a scholar is shown by the fact that Yale College, in the year 1793, conferred on him the honorary degree of Master of Arts.

R. G. Thwaites, as editor of *Early Western Travels,* 32 vols. (Cleveland, 1904-07), III, 253, stated in a note to the journey of F. A. Michaux that Moses Fisk was a graduate of Harvard College in 1662. This Moses was the son of John Fiske, the immigrant. Thwaites' further confusion is shown by his statement that our subject "graduated in the same class with Daniel Webster." The two graduated from Dartmouth, but not in the same class. Fisk preceded Webster by several years.

[4]See sketch of General Ripley in Dumas Malone (ed.), *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1928-44), XV, 621. The town of Ripley, county seat of Lauderdale County, Tennessee, as well as towns in other states bear his name.

[5]Quoted in A. V. and W. H. Goodpasture, *Life of Jefferson Dillard Goodpasture* (Nashville, 1897), 18.

west to the Southwest Territory, which was soon to become the State of Tennessee. The great financier of the American Revolution, Robert Morris, was the leading spirit in a syndicate organized to acquire large areas of land in that Territory, and Thomas Storm of New York headed another group of associates following the example of Morris. With this latter group Moses Fisk was associated.

It appears that agents of Governor William Blount and his brothers, John Gray and Thomas, who had, singly or jointly, acquired enormous tracts in the Tennessee country, had sold a boundary of 44,160 acres in what was then Sumner County to the Storm syndicate about the year 1795 or 1796. It is probable that Fisk spent some time in New York City formulating plans which when consummated led to his leaving for Tennessee as the active manager of the syndicate. On his way south he stopped at Philadelphia for an interview with William Blount, who was in that city to claim a seat in the United States Senate from the new state of Tennessee. From Blount he bore a letter of introduction to Governor John Sevier and a communication to Willie Blount and Charles McClung.[6]

The Blounts were solicitous to sell parts of their enormous holdings, for they were fast becoming land poor. Further, with a state government functioning and new counties being organized, the burden of taxes would increase. The three Blount brothers, confronted by this situation, made increasingly strenuous efforts to unload parts of their holdings of lands. Otherwise, grave financial difficulties would have been their lot, a danger early foreseen by the Blounts. In the latter part of 1791 John Gray Blount, in an effort to dispose of western lands in Europe, had procured the services of Major James Cole Mountflorence. The latter, a native of France, had served with the North Carolina troops in the Revolutionary War, reaching the rank of major. After the war he moved to Nashville where he practiced law, merchandised, and speculated in land. Mountflorence made strenuous efforts to sell his and the Blounts' lands to Frenchmen, Dutch, and Britons. In London he enlisted the aid of Temple Franklin (son of the great Benjamin Franklin), but his efforts met with failure. Time and again he reported to the Blounts: "My prospects for sales are but indifferent. . . . So far I have been unable to dispose of a single acre," etc. Finally the title papers were returned to William Blount in 1795.[7]

The efforts of the Blount brothers to dispose of lands to Euro-

[6]William Blount to Willie Blount and Charles McClung, Philadelphia, September 27, 1796, William Blount Papers (McClung Collection, Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville).

[7]The letters of Mountflorence to the Blounts have been edited and contributed by Alice B. Keith to the *North Carolina Historical Review*, XIV (1937), 251-288.

pean purchasers having met with dismal failure, their success in making a sale to Thomas Storm and his associates in New York must have come as a windfall. It is interesting to observe in this connection that General John Sevier in August, 1795, was sending a large number of land warrants to Raleigh, North Carolina, to obtain grants "to be laid on each side of the Cumberland River." [8] This boundary was north of the boundary of Storm and associates. There are indications in the Sevier "Journal" that a part of the Storm lands were first acquired by the Blounts from Sevier, young Willie Blount acting for his older brothers.[9]

In handling the large estate of the Storm syndicate young Fisk would profit by becoming a student of law, particularly of land law. It is believed that Fisk studied law in Knoxville under the younger half-brother of William Blount, Willie, who had been licensed to practice law in 1794. The two young men became chums at the time and remained so afterwards.[10]

The Tennessee historian, Albert V. Goodpasture, himself a native of Overton County, in his writings on Fisk stated: "He studied law and was admitted to the bar at the suggestion of William Blount, through whom also, he was tendered the presidency of the University of North Carolina, which he declined."[11] There was a vacancy in the presidency of the University of North Carolina in 1797-98, but, so far as the records and archives of the University of North Carolina show, there is no official record of Fisk's election to the presidency. It may be that the correspondence in behalf of that institution was conducted by one of the more active trustees and it was he who inquired whether Fisk would accept if elected.

Fisk was to make contributions to the educational life of Tennessee, if not to that of North Carolina. His first efforts in that direction appear to have been the result of promptings from his friend and teacher President John Wheelock of Fisk's alma mater, Dartmouth.

Dartmouth College was the outgrowth of a charity school founded by Eleazar Wheelock about the year 1750 for the education of the youths of the nearby American Indian tribes. The Rev. Dr.

[8]John H. DeWitt (ed.), "Journal of John Sevier," *Tennessee Historical Magazine* (Nashville, 1915-1937), V (1919), 178. For the appearance of Sevier in the region for the survey, see later entries in his "Journal." The grants bore date of August 28, 1795. After the death of Sevier his widow removed to the large tract of land.

[9]*Ibid.*, 179. Was "Scorers" in the "Journal" (entry of August 3, 1795) a misrendering of "Storm's"? The name Scorer is nowhere else mentioned in western annals.

[10]In the roster of the Nashville bar the name of Fisk does not appear. W. W. Clayton, *History of Davidson County* (Philadelphia, 1880).

[11]Goodpasture's *Overton County* was published in pamphlet form (Nashville, 1877). In it (pp. 8-9): "In 1797 he was licensed to practice law in Courts of Pleas and Quarter Sessions, and in 1798 in all the Courts of Law and Equity of the State." See also Goodpasture, *J. D. Goodpasture*, 7.

John Wheelock, who succeeded his father in 1779, carried forward this feature of educational work. Moses Fisk was a student and tutor under the son, with whom he was on intimate terms, so that when Fisk left the college for the Southwest, Wheelock conceived that by using the services of his young friend he had an opportunity to extend Indian education to one of the southern tribes seated near Fisk's new home.

Shortly after Fisk left New England Wheelock wrote (on July 1, 1796) to the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, in Scotland, to ascertain whether financial aid could be furnished by the Society.[12] At the same time Wheelock communicated his plans to Fisk in Tennessee and asked his aid and also for reports as to the feasibility of a mission and school among the Cherokees.

Fisk entered with enthusiasm on the task. He consulted several leaders in Tennessee and transmitted their views to President Wheelock, along with his own comments. Among those thus interviewed in person or by letters, were Governor William Blount, U. S. War Department Agent David Henley,[13] and Silas Dinsmoor (or Dinsmore). The letters concerning this matter afford such light on conditions in the new state as to justify recovery and reproduction here:

Nashville, September 9, 1799

Dear Sir:

Before leaving Knoxville I wrote to Mr. Blount a letter with respect to your important design of establishing a school among the Cherokees, which with his answer I shall here copy. — —

"Knoxville, July 10, 1799

"Sir, — On leaving New england I was requested by my friend, the honourable John Wheelock, President of Dartmouth College in Newhampshire, to consult with suitable gentlemen in this country on the success that would probably attend a well-concerted plan for introduc-ing the principles of christianity, and the arts of civilization, among the Cherokees; and to transmit to him the result of my enquiries. Under a belief that you are better acquainted with the state and disposition of that nation than any other person [blot] your opinion on the subject, as much at large as your information respecting it, and your attention to other objects, will permit the compliance with this request will confer an obligation on him, and add to those already conferred on, Sir, your very sincere friend,

Moses Fisk."

His [Blount's] answer was thus — —

"Knoxville, July 18, 1799

"Sir, to contribute in any degree to extending the principles of Christianity and the arts of civilization to the Cherokees would afford me great

[12]Dartmouth College Archives.

[13]The advice of Henley may be found in one of the articles in this series, "Colonel David Henley," in the East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications*, No. 18 (1946), 3-26.

happiness, and no attempt could not be made by any person whose name would inspire a greater hope of success than that of that learned and benevolent Doctor Wheelock. It is true I am well acquainted with the Cherokees as a nation and have been for nine years past, and for more than half the time with the individual leading characters. I hesitate not to say, that no other nation of the aborigines of North America have made such progress in the arts of civilization in any period as they have for the last six or seven years. Since 1795 they have ceased to kill white people and very generally to steal horses. They are deeply impressed with the horror of war, and a due sense of the great advantages resulting from a state of entire peace and friendship with the United States. [Instead?] of supporting themselves altogether by hunting as heretofore, many of them have become herdsmen, cultivators of the soil, and manufacturers of cotton cloth for their own clothing. Cotton grows to great perfection in their soil and climate, and they understand the whole process of planting, raising, spinning, and weaving it. Among Indians in general it is disreputable for men to labour, and it was formerly so considered among the Cherokees; but at present with them it is otherwise. Many of them, the leading men, as well as others, labour with the axe, the hoe, and the plough; more generally with the two former. There are among them several ingenious mechanics in wood, metal and leather. In hospitality and civility to white persons travelling among them, they are surpassed by no people that I have ever seen or heard of.

"Here are proofs that the Cherokees possess and practice some of the arts of civilization; and they are daily improving. I will mention a particular man as an example—The Cabin. He yesterday showed me his hands hardly knotted by the use of the hoe, working in his cornfield this season; boasting at the same time that his field was larger, his corn good, and that it was worked only by himself and his wife: and I am well informed that he has within this month received upwards of 300 dollars for beef cattle from his own stock. Civilization having made such progress, it appears to me [that an?] attempt to extend the principles of Christianity, if well [planned?] will be crowned with success. It must be effected gradually; and a preparatory and essential step will be the establishment of a school among them, in which shall be taught the English language, and a knowledge of figures and accounts by teachers of pure morals. Example is of more worth than precept, especially, with people of their description. A second step will be preaching upon moral subjects, which will pave the way for the reception of the gospel system generally. With my best wishes for the success of the attempt, should it be made, accept, Sir assurances of my great esteem and respect.

W. Blount."

I [Fisk] may add, if it were necessary that I am well assured, from other channels, that the Cherokees show a considerable ardour for improvement, that they begin to respect property, that those to whom an intimation has been given of your views have been well pleased, that those who continue to steal horses belong to the most despised class and live only in four towns, and that the other class would be willing to have them exterminated. . . .

Upon the whole, Sir, I am of opinion, as I believe I wrote you before, that that is the nation, and this the period most favourable to a successful experiment; and that the money in Scotland, raised by Doctor Whitaker can never be expended more conformably to the original design of the donors, than at present among the Cherokees. And, to forward so noble an object, I

will execute any of your commands when my affairs will render it possible.

I am soon going back to Knoxville, and there hope to find a letter from you, informing me of your health, of Mrs· Wheelock's, and Miss Maria's, of health and harmony through all Dresden, of Miss Maria's growing enthusiasm for intellectual acquirements, as well as for pleasing accomplishments, of certain improvements in college affairs, and of a removal of the ill-boding cloud which hung over the school, etc· etc. [tear] any gentlemen purpose going from this place to finish their education in some northern college. They wish for one where they can be wholly or, almost so, dispensed with. [large tear] . . . . You will be glad to learn that this district, as well as that about Knoxville, is very little troubled with the mania of politics. I am at a loss Sir, for the source of those astonishing prejudices which have been entertained against this country. But I hope the time is not distant when they will die away.

With suitable salutations, I am, Sir

Affectionately your friend,

Moses Fisk.

Hon. J. Wheelock.
I am in good health.

[Fisk to Wheelock]

Fort Blount, April 14, 1800

Dear Sir:

After my last two respectable gentlemen of the Moravian Society in North Carolina provided with testimonials of their good character, passed through this state, on their way to the Chicasaw nation, etc. in order, as I understand, for I did not see them, to effect the establishment of missionaries there, should it be found expedient. I have not heard of their return, nor of their progress.

I think it was also after my last, that I passed a few days in company with Culsatehee, a Cherokee chief, from Hiawasse· He seemed much animated whenever we talked of the advancemnt his nation is making in handicrafts; and would frequently, as well as he could knowing but a few words of English, and I but a short vocabulary of Cherokee, run over the particular arts which have been introduced among them, as spinning, weaving, working metals, etc. & expressed great satisfaction that Mr. Lewis, the present agent of the United States in that nation, is building a set of mills for them, at Chestowa, one of their towns. This is done at the public expense and I have understood that part of the materials were provided by his predecessor in office, our friend Mr. Dinsmoor.

The latter has lately written me. I had requested his opinion as to a plan for effecting our object· He was obliged to notice in his letter sundry other matters; and therefore had room only for a paragraph upon this. "I wish (says he) I dare answer you relative to the business of a missionary and school establishment among the Cherokees, but you have been so much in the habit of setting a value on my opinion, that it might have a tendency to involve either yourself, or some others, in embarassment. So astonishingly capricious are the Indians, that the whim of the moment might defeat the best laid plans for ameliorating their situation." He however implicitly promises me another communication; and I know, from a conversation with him in Philadelphia, that his opinion is favourable to the practicability, as well as humanity of the design.

Mr. Davis's School for Cherokees, which I mentioned to you in a former

letter, is moved a few miles from South West Point, to keep him aloof from liquor. He has about a dozen pupils at present, of both sexes, chiefly of mixed blood; and his remuneration comes chiefly, I am told, from those who send. I fear he is not a proper guardian of the moral virtues. I do not expect to see him soon. He appeared to me before; to be a man of very different qualifications. But all this shows the more strongly how ready, perhaps I may say, how thirsty, the Cherokees are for instruction.

I still think the laudable object you have in view may be accomplished; and probably with as few difficulties as we have ever anticipated. But I suppose it will not be necessary for me to write you any further upon the matter, till I hear what success you have with the Society in Scotland, and whether you have come to any definitive resolution.

I have lately returned to this place from the woods, where I have been strolling, about a fortnight, through a charming piece of country. Perhaps in a week I shall set out for Knoxville. We are told, that Gov. Blount has closed his eyes upon all sublunary scenes. Many will deplore— He had a winning address, and had been very humane to many of the first settlers of this country; and seemed to take a peculiar pleasure in bringing forward, to business and consequence, young men of narrow circumstances and good genius.

Should you wish to make any use of any of my letters in the missionary affair, written as they are in haste, sometimes among a bustle of people, and under almost every disadvantage, I pray you do it by way of extract. And do me the friendly favour to correct anything in the phraseology, which may not meet your approbation.

The Professors with their families and the Tutors will please to accept of my most cordial greetings, which, as you often see the gentlemen at your manufactory wisdom, I beg you to present.

When will your labours come forth, to gratify and instruct?

Yours in toto

M. Fisk.[14]

As we shall observe later, although the Indian school seems not to have materialized, Fisk left his mark on early education in his adopted state. Before he could do this it was necessary for him to acquire property and influence.

The lands Fisk had acquired for himself and associates were situated in what was at that time Sumner County, the boundaries of which reached on the east to the Cherokee Indian country. The Tennessee legislature of 1798 carved out of its eastern portion a new county, Smith, making the new county extend to the Indian line. Later (1801), Jackson County, named at this early date for Andrew Jackson, was established out of the eastern part of Smith, and still later (1806) the county of Overton was established. The Indian boundary ran through the last named county about three and one-half miles east of Livingston, which later became the county seat. However, by the treaty with the Cherokees in 1805, at Tellico Blockhouse, the title of that tribe to what was called the Wilderness was extinguished and from that time the whole of what was to be

[14]Dartmouth College Archives.

known as "the Mountain District" was open to settlement.[15]

Moses Fisk was concerned with the establishment of these three new counties. In the year 1799, when Smith County was organized, Fisk acted as clerk *pro tem* of its county court and two years later was chairman of the court. At this period he was living with Captain Sampson Williams, whose home was on the Cumberland River at Fort Blount (later named Williamsburg for the Captain). In 1802 when Jackson County was erected Fisk, under appointment in the creating act, was named as the person to administer the oath of office to the first panel of justices. On the establishment of Overton County, Fisk moved from Fort Blount to the new county.[16]

Those who migrated to Overton County were in part ex-soldiers of the North Carolina continental line. However, many of these veterans were of advanced age or so circumstanced as not to be induced to move to the western country. Many sold their rights to younger men who, as assignees, outnumbered those who had served as soldiers "of the line" during the Revolutionary War. On the whole the county was peopled by sturdy men and women—typical way-breakers.

An important task assigned to Fisk was to serve as one of two commissioners to compile the statutory law of Tennessee. The legislature of 1803 appointed him and Willie Blount to compile all the statutes of North Carolina, the Southwest Territory, and the State of Tennessee that were deemed to be in effect in the new state. Young Blount, who had earlier been appointd a superior judge and had declined to qualify, evidently lacking confidence in his own legal ability, seems to have been appalled by the task and to have left it to be prosecuted by Fisk alone. The compilation of the statutes was far from being an easy one.

The Tennessee Act of 1803, Chapter 78, provided for "the revising and compressing into one volume" the laws of the Southwest Territory and the State of Tennessee, together with "a careful selection of the statute laws of the state of North Carolina, passed previous to the act of cession which are of force and use in this State." This was the most difficult phase of the task, requiring as it did the incorporation of North Carolina statutes dating from 1715 to 1789. The North Carolina cession act of 1789 had provided that all laws of that state should continue in force in the ceded territory until altered or repealed by authority of the new jurisdiction in the West. By an earlier act (of 1778) North Carolina's legislature had provided that all acts of the royal colony which were not repugnant to or

[15] J. T. Moore and A. P. Foster, *Tennessee: the Volunteer State* (Nashville, 1923), I, 858, 866, 872; Goodpasture, *J. D. Goodpasture*, 7.
[16] *Ibid.*, 18-20.

inconsistent with the independence of the state and its form of government, and which had not became obsolete should be in full force in North Carolina as a state. It can easily be seen why young Blount was given pause and how Fisk was embarassed as he prosecuted his labors of compilation.

The act which created the commission stipulated that the revision should be reported to the general assembly of 1805. Fisk reported to that session a partial compilation and was compensated for the work so far accomplished. He was granted leave to withdraw his manuscript "for the purpose of completing the same to be laid before the general assembly at the next session." At this time Fisk was engrossed in laying out and establishing an educational institution in Overton County and he made no report in 1806.

Shortly after that, Judge John Haywood moved from North Carolina to Tennessee and began as a private enterprise the preparation of such a revision. He had in 1801 published his *Manual of the Laws of North Carolina* and had served as judge of the court of last resort in that state. Of all members of the Tennessee bar, he was the most competent to the task. Fisk never completed his compilation.[17]

In recognition of his ability as a mathematician Fisk was appointed in 1802 by Governor Archibald Roane as one of a commission of three[18] to meet a Virginia commission to survey a part of the line between the two states. For many years the true location of that line had been in dispute. Fisk traveled from Nashville to Knoxville on his way to take part in the survey and had as his companion a kindred spirit in Francois A. Michaux, the French botanist and scientist. As the two journeyed each enriched the observations of the other, so that the account of the young Michaux[19] may be deemed the joint production of both, so far as concerns the Tennessee country traversed by them.

The description of that region by Michaux is so accessible to readers that it cannot be reprinted in full in these pages. Only excerpts will be made.

In Nashville Fisk was introduced to Michaux by William P. Anderson, of the Nashville bar, erroneously as "president of the

[17]On this phase see S. C. Williams, *History of Codification in Tennessee* (Johnson City, 1932), 10-13.

[18]John Sevier, who had retired from the governorship, and George Rutledge of the border county of Sullivan, were the other two.

[19]F. A. Michaux, *Travels to the West of the Alleghany Mountains* (London, 1805) from the earlier French editions. The book was reproduced in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, III, 105-306, with annotations by Thwaites. Michaux throughout spells Tennessee "Tennessea" – the only writer to do so. His father had ended the word with two "es".

college,[20] with whom I had the pleasure of traveling to Knoxville." The account continues:

On the 5th of September I set out from Nasheville [*sic*] for Knoxville, with Mr. Fisk, sent by the estate of Tennessea [*sic*] to determine in a more correct manner, in concert with the commissaries [commissioners] of Virginia, the boundaries between the two states. We did not arrive until the 9th at Fort Blount, built upon the river Cumberland, about sixty miles from Nasheville; we stopped on the road with different friends of Mr. Fisk, among others at the house of General [Daniel] Smith, one of the oldest inhabitants in the country, where he had resided sixteen or seventeen years. It is to him they are indebted for the best map of this state, which is found in the *Geographic Atlas,* published by Matthew Carey, bookseller at Philadelphia. He confessed to me, notwithstanding, that his map, taken several years ago, was in many respects imperfect. The General has a beautiful plantation cultivated in Indian wheat and cotton; he has also a neat distillery for peach brandy, which he sells for five shillings per gallon. . . .I have seen at his house English translations of the works of Lavoisier and Fourcroy.[21]

Passing the home of General James Winchester, "Cragfont," and that of Major Tillman Dixon, near Dixon's Spring, they arrived at the fine plantation of Captain Sampson Williams, "with whom Mr. Fisk usually resides." Michaux commented:

As Mr. Fisk was obliged to go to the court of justice, which is held a few miles from thence in the county of Jackson; we deferred crossing the Wilderness for a few days, and I profited by his absence to go and see Roaring River, a branch of the Cumberland.[22]

Michaux gave an entrancing description of Roaring River and its valley. The two travelers on rejoining laid in a two days' supply of provisions before entering the Wilderness. They traveled the Walton Road, which as will be mentioned later, probably had been originally surveyed by Fisk. Michaux thus described the highway:

The road that crosses this part of the Indian territory cuts through the mountains in Cumberland; it is as broad and commodious as those in the environs of Philadelphia, in consequence of the amazing number of emigrants that travel through it to go and settle in the western country. . . . About forty miles from Nasheville we met an emigrant family in a carriage, followed by their negroes on foot, that had performed their journey without any accident.[23]

[20] *Ibid.,* III, 253. At this time (1802) there was no college in Nashville. Two rival academies had been consolidated two years before and the new institution, under the name of Davidson Academy, was aspiring to college rank, but this was not attained until 1806, when it was re-chartered as Cumberland College. A. W. Putnam, *History of Middle Tennessee* (Nashville, 1859), 645-48.

[21] Thwaites, *Early Western Travels,* III, 255-56.

[22] *Ibid.,* 259.

[23] *Ibid.,* 261-62.

As they were passing through what was as yet Cherokee domain, the conversation naturally turned to the history of the Cherokees and of the river of that tribe, about which Fisk had learned much. Of the Tennessee River he informed his friend:

> The signification of the name of Tennessee, which it bears, is unknown to the Cherokees and Choctaws [Chickasaws] that occupied this country before the whites. Mr. Fisk, who has had several conversations with these Indians, never heard any precise account; in consequence of which it is most likely that this name has been given to it by the nation that the Cherokees succeeded.[24]

On arriving in Knoxville the two travelers put up at "the house of one Haynes, the sign of General Washington"; and called on George Roulstone of the *Knoxville Gazette*.[25] Then on the 17th of September the Frenchman took leave of Fisk and both proceeded towards Washington County but by different routes. Fisk was scheduled to meet General Sevier, his fellow boundary commissioner, at the home of the latter on Nolachucky River in Washington County. The two rode together to Abingdon, Virginia, where they arrived October 1, 1802. Fisk did not journalize the survey, but Sevier did so, and the following is quoted or summarized from Sevier's "Journal."[26]

Observations were made by Fisk for Tennessee and by Laws for Virginia, first on the old Henderson line; then they shifted to the Walker line. At neither place did their observations as to the true latitude agree. The process was repeated, with like results. Apparently on the suggestion of the Virginia commissioners, it was determined that authority be obtained to establish the line midway between the old lines of Walker and Henderson:

> Sat. 9 we sent Mr. [Nath'l B.] Markland off as an express to Gov. Roane . . . .Sat. 23. After some notes passing between Virginia and Tennessee commissioners we mutually agreed to run an intermediate line between Walkers and Hendersons & sent surveyors to measure the distance between the two lines. . . .

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[24]*Ibid.*, 272. This surmise may prove to be fact. In a note Thwaites ventures the opinion that the name may have origin in the language of the Natchesen family, at Louisiana and Mississippi in historical times. The present writer suggests that the name may derive from the Catawbas, who were near the Middle Town Cherokees in the Carolinas, which tribe was of Siouan stock, distinct from the Cherokees who were of Algonquian derivation. In a very early treaty a Catawba chief signed by the name of the river which headed near the Cherokees. This name "Tenase" was given to the town of the Cherokee tribe on the Little Tennessee River which headed in the mountains near the Catawbas, who seemingly had been driven westward by the stronger Cherokees.

[25]*Ibid.*, 266.

[26]John H. DeWitt, in *Tennessee Historical Magazine*, VI, 32-35.

The distance was found to be approximately two miles, making the intermediate line about one mile from each of the old lines. Surveyors were sent east to survey the part of the line at or near the White Top Mountain. On the return of the surveyors the survey was continued due west towards Cumberland Gap. The beginning point was on the Holston near Captain Duncan's. On the 4th of November they "arrived at Gen. Evan Shelby's old place" and found "the line to pass through the plantation."[27] Sevier's "Journal" traces the line to Cumberland Gap and is of interest in that it names early settlers along and near the line.

Considerable delay resulted from sending to the governors of the two states for confirmation of the tentative compromise, and then in locating and marking, which called for checkings and rectifications. Cumberland Gap was the western terminus of the Virginia and the and the eastern terminus of the Kentucky line. That gap was reached December 8th, on which day the Sevier "Journal" carried this entry: "Finished the line, which struck the Caintucky line about one quarter So. of the Gap — This day we made out our reports & exchanged on each side—. . . ."

Kentucky was not a party to the survey and in later years undertook to establish the Walker line west of Cumberland Gap. In 1817 that commonwealth demanded a resurvey of that part of the state line that was east of the Tennessee River and threatened to begin a suit against Tennessee. Governor Joseph McMinn chose Fisk as mathematician for Tennessee, so satisfactory had his services been in 1802. However, an agreement was reached and no survey was then made.[28]

At the time of his appointment as a boundary commissioner Fisk was engaged in the preparation of a Greek grammar. He laid aside his manuscript of that work and never turned to its completion. The scholar and would-be author could not overcome the call of more material affairs.[29]

In Overton County Fisk laid off the first town, which he named Hilham. The town, located on a creek that flowed into Roaring River, was situated in North Carolina's reservation for her soldiers of the continental line in the Revolution. On this account Fisk deemed it wise to procure a new grant for the acreage.

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[27]State Street, Bristol, of the present day. The true line would have taken a part of the buildings on the Virginia side, but by a later agreement it was shifted to the center of what became State Street.

[28]A. V. Goodpasture, "Moses Fisk's Historical Sketch of Tennessee," *American Historical Magazine* (Nashville, 1896-1904), II (1897), 18, citing a manuscript letter of McMinn in the Tennessee Archives of date April 21, 1817.

[29]H. M. Doak, "Development of Education in Tennessee," *American Historical Magazine,* VIII (1903), 64-91; reproduced in the Tennessee Historical Commission's *Tennessee Old and New* (Nashville, 1946), II, 21-44.

He and his warm friend, Sampson Williams, each contributed one thousand acres toward establishing an educational institution at Hilham. Seemingly, this was in 1803.

According to the charter of incorporation granted by the legislature of Tennessee in 1806, the school was "for females exclusively." This was the first educational institution of the kind in Tennessee or the South,[30] and third in the Union, the other two having been located in Massachusetts, a fact from which Fisk doubtless received inspiration.

For an unascertainable period the academy was operated as a school for girls; but that scheme finally was found not to be destined for success. Not a sufficient number of girls of the region could be secured as pupils. The parents were not far enough advanced in their thinking to give daughters the advantages their sons were thought to be capable and worthy of receiving. Too, the population of the region was sparse, and the academy was not fairly accessible to the families of other somewhat distant counties. According to the Goodpastures:

> . . . still Mr. Fisk made it a prime object to see that good schools were maintained at Hilham, and for many years it was done under his own direction and control.[31]

The "exclusive female" feature was discontinued and boys and young men were taught in the academy until the building was destroyed by fire in 1830. Many young men received instruction at the academy and became outstanding leaders in what came to be called the "Mountain District" and the "Upper Cumberland Country."[32] The following tribute was paid to Fisk by A. V. Good-

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[30]Georgia historians claim that the first academy of the kind was chartered as such in 1829 at Macon in that state, and that Wesleyan Female College was the first college of the kind, chartered in 1836.

[31]Goodpasture, *J. D. Goodpasture,* 21. It must not be thought that the men of this part of the West were all unappreciative of the benefits of an education for their daughters. Some of them turned to the Moravian Boarding School for Girls at Salem in North Carolina. From the records of the Moravians we learn that this school had grown to such proportions that a new building was constructed, and dedicated in July, 1805. According to the record for July 22, 1805: "A gentleman, James Sanders by name, who lives near Nashville in the state of Tennessee, brought his daughter, Laetitia, to the Boarding School, the first from the State." Adelaide L. Fries, *Records of the Moravians of North Carolina,* 7 vols. (Raleigh, 1922-47), VI, 2809.

Two years later Colonel Hardee Murfree placed two of his granddaughters in the school. These were to be followed by others in later years. Sarah Childress and her sister journeyed to Salem from their home in Murfreesboro, accompanied by their brother, Anderson, on horseback. The sisters entered this Moravian school. Sarah married James K. Polk and became a mistress of the White House.

[32]To name only two by way of examples: Sam Turney attended from an adjoining county. He became a leading member of the bar, a legislator of note and he was an active member of the "immortal thirteen"; also his brother, Hopkins L. Turney, who became a federal senator from Tennessee and father of Peter Turney, chief justice and governor of Tennessee.

pasture: "He [Fisk] was a great educator, and influenced the lives of a multitude of young men who afterwards became distinguished in the service of their country."[33] The seed sown by Fisk in Overton County brought forth fruit before and after his death. Alpine Institute[34] was projected, and flourished there for generations.

Fisk's Female Academy was in a sense an effort to transplant to the hill country of Tennessee something of New England. It foreshadowed the later effort of Thomas Hughes to transplant on the nearby Cumberland Plateau a colony of Old Englanders at Rugby. The stories of both are appealing in their untoward fates.

In 1804 Fisk had been elected a trustee of Davidson Academy of Nashville, as successor of Judge John McNairy. He was at once appointed on a committee of two to draft a petition to Congress, praying for a grant of lands to the Academy. That institution became Cumberland College in 1806, Fisk remaining a trustee of the college.[35] Cumberland College was later merged into the University of Nashville, which became the George Peabody College for Teachers.

Fisk induced many New Englanders to come to his neighborhood, some as teachers. Notable among these was John C. Leonard, who taught successfully at Hilham, married Fisk's daughter, and later moved to Missouri where he became an eminent jurist. Another was Sidney H. Little, who taught in Overton County and afterwards became a distinguished lawyer in the State of Illinois. Another was a kinsman, Moses Madison Fisk (1780-1804), who graduated at Dartmouth in 1802, and died in Nashville two years later. Yet another should be mentioned, his neighbor, Dr. Titus Theodore Barton (1766-1827), a graduate of Dartmouth College, an ordained minister of the Congregational Church and a doctor of medicine, who reached Hilham November 28, 1817, and practiced medicine there until 1827, when he left for Jacksonville, Illinois, and died en route.[36]

A younger brother of our subject was John Fisk, who attended Dartmouth College while Moses was yet a tutor and graduated from that institution in 1791. While he did not follow Moses to Tennes-

[33]Goodpasture, in *American Historical Magazine,* II, 18.

[34]Founded by John L. Dillard, one of the early Cumberland Presbyterian ministers of the region. At that institute a classical education was given to many students. Its principal from 1845 to 1851 was John Lourie Beveridge, who in after years was congressman from Illinois, successor of John A. Logan, and also a governor of that state, 1873-1877. During the Civil War he became a brigadier-general in the Federal army. "Many young ladies and men attended from surrounding counties, Kentucky and other states." Four other governors of states were connected as teachers or students with that institute, the last being Albert H. Roberts, governor of Tennessee.

[35]Putnam, *History of Middle Tennessee,* 647-48.

[36]Goodpasture, *J. D. Goodpasture,* 21, 22.

see, he did send two of his sons to be educated under his older brother. Evidently it was these nephews of Moses who were signers of a petition of male inhabitants of Overton County, presented to the legislatere in the fall of 1813, expressing their willingness to take a part in the pending war against the Creek Indians. Among the signers were Madison Fisk and Walter Fisk, along with Abraham, John, and Arthur Goodpasture. Moses was still a bachelor in that period.

John Dickinson was a person who, influenced to move to Tennessee by Fisk, there rose to acknowledged leadership. A native of a small town in New Hampshire, Dickinson had been a student under Fisk at Dartmouth College. After graduating from college, the young man followed Fisk to Knoxville, where he taught school for about two years.[37] When Fisk moved from Knoxville to Nashville, Dickinson again followed and studied law under Judge John Overton, then recognized as the leader of the Middle Tennessee bar. Judge Overton had at that time the largest law library in the region, and young Dickinson evidently made much use of this collection under the guidance of his law preceptor. He was admitted to the Nashville bar in 1800 and at once demonstrated a pronounced capacity as a lawyer, especially in his mastery of land law. His earnings at the bar were so large that he amassed a handsome estate. He married a Nashville belle and gained the high regard of his fellows at the bar.

There is a strong inference (approximating certainty) that Dickinson represented the large land company which under Moses Fisk's management operated in Overton and adjoining counties. Dickinson also followed Fisk in becoming a trustee of Davidson Academy at Nashville. It is worthy of remark that young Dickinson[38] fought a duel with a younger brother of Judge Overton. His adversary was wounded but Dickinson was unscathed. Duelling was not yet in disfavor on any of the frontiers of America. Indeed, Moses Fisk loaned his dueling pistols to his young friend for use in this "affair of honor," and Dickinson's reputation was not impaired but rather was increased by his conduct in the duel.

Dickinson's career, marked with brilliancy, was cut short by tuberculosis. He died in 1815 possessed of a large estate. His widow married a young lawyer who had read law under Dickinson, Ephriam H. Foster, who became one of the founders of the Whig party in Tennessee and a senator in the Congress of the United States.[39]

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[37]A fact unnoted in any history of Knoxville, or Knox County.

[38]Not to be confused with another Nashville lawyer, Charles Dickinson, who was killed by Andrew Jackson in a duel.

[39]Dickinson, like his mentor, Fisk, never aspired to political honors; he cultivated assiduously the law. For authorities used in this sketch of him, see J. W. Caldwell, *Sketches of the Bench and Bar of Tennessee* (Knoxville, 1898), 31; Goodpasture, *J. D. Goodpasture,* 21.

At a comparatively early date the Massachusetts Historical Society was established in Fisk's native state. This society devoted its efforts towards making a collection of and publishing historical materials. To one of the volumes[40] of that Society's *Collections*, published in 1818, Fisk contributed an article, titled, "A Summary Notice of the First Settlements Made by the White People Within the Limits which Bound the State of Tennessee." This was the first effort of a resident of Tennessee to recover and record the early history of that state and is notable as such.[41] Its publication antedated John Haywood's *Civil and Political History of the State of Tennessee*[42] by about five years. Indeed, Haywood drew upon Fisk's "A Summary Notice" to a considerable extent in preparing his own history, though Haywood ungracefully and ungraciously gave no credit to Fisk for this borrowing.

Fisk dated his contribution from "Hilham, July 1, 1816," and he explained how he obtained much of the material: "There were few on my [Fisk's] arrival in the country in 1796 but could recite scenes of barbarity. General and Mrs. Robertson enumerated to me about twenty persons, then living in West [Middle] Tennessee who had lost their scalps. The number that had lost their lives was unknown." This was confirmed by the son of the Robertsons, Felix Robertson, who later in writing to Lyman Draper referred to "Moses Fisque [*sic*], an intelligent New England gentleman, who I recollect seeing occasionally at my father's when a lad." [43]

In October, 1812, a charter was granted to the incorporators of the American Antiquarian Society, which was located at Worcester, Massachusetts. The work of this Society attracted the attention of leading men west of the Alleghanies where were located most of the ancient mounds and remains of a prehistoric race. By 1820 that society began the publication of *Archaeological Americana*, to the first volume of which Moses Fisk contributed an article bearing the title, "Conjectures Respecting the Ancient Inhabitants of North America."

At Nashville a group of about a score of men of a scientific bent organized a like group in 1819. Leaders in the movement included Judge John Haywood, the historian, and Ralph Earl, the portrait painter, whose home was at General Andrew Jackson's

[40]Second series, Vol. VII (Boston, 1818), 59, *et seq.*; reproduced with introduction by A. V. Goodpasture in *American Historical Magazine*, II (1897), 17-26.

[41]S. C. Williams, *Dawn of Tennessee Valley and Tennessee History* (Johnson City, 1937), 366 *et seq.* Daniel Smith's "A Short Description" was published (first edition) in 1793, but it was not historical in scope — a descriptive and geographical account of the Tennessee region. Both productions came from west of the Cumberland Mountains.

[42]Published in Nashville, 1823.

[43]Lyman Draper, Tennessee Papers, Collection of Manuscripts (Wisconsin Historical Society), 6XX49.

Hermitage. It does not appear that Fisk was an active member of that society; but it is altogether probable that his article above referred to was read before the group before being sent to the Worcester society for publication. Fisk lived too far from Nashville (eighty-four miles), and transportation between the two points was difficult. Since Fisk was a corresponding member of the Massachusetts Historical Society and the American Antiquarian Society, we may infer that in all probability he had the same connection with the society in Nashville.

Fisk made other ventures into the field of authorship. We have earlier noted the preparation of a Greek grammar abandoned when the call came to assist in the boundary survey of 1802. He published a textbook on *English Grammar,*[44] perhaps intended for use in his academy at Hilham. He also while yet at Dartmouth published an address on *Negro Slavery* and still another on *Tyrannical Liberty Men.*[45]

It is much to be regretted that Fish did not continue his researches and productivity in the field of early Tennessee history, along the lines of his paper in the Massachusetts Historical Siciety *Collections.* He had the literary skill to have made a distinctly important contribution to the history of his adopted state. Moreover, cushioned as he was by wealth, as wealth was reckoned on the frontier, he had close touch with the leaders of the early periods, of Middle Tennessee in particular.

In addition to Generals James Robertson, Daniel Smith, Griffith Rutherford, and James Winchester, all Revolutionary soldiers, he had easy access to others for data on the state's beginnings. There were Sampson Williams, with whom he lived for years, William Walton, with whom he was associated for a time, Tilman Dixon, the first Peter Turney, and numerous others. Moreover, there were younger men of ability and force near at hand, such as William Martin of Smith County, George Christian, Colonel George W. Sevier and his Sevier kinsmen in Overton County, William B. Campbell, and many others. Lyman C. Draper subsequently (in the late 1830's and the 1840's) assiduously cultivated most of these younger men. The letters drawn from them constitute a considerable part of his collection on the Tennessee country.[46] The harvest was rich and ripe and Moses Fisk was a competent harvester had he turned his mind and hands to the task.

Fisk conducted a fairly wide correspondence with antiquarians

[44]Chapman, *Sketches of the Alumni of Dartmouth College,* 41.

[45]*Ibid.*

[46]Draper also visited a number of this class and took voluminous notes of his interviews. Indeed, the information obtained from them would make a good-sized printed volume.

and others of scholarly trends in this and other states of the Union.[47] Among his correspondents were Levi Hodge, who desired Fisk's opinion of his work on logic, and Jedidiah Morse, who consulted Fisk about the Tennessee country when revising his treatise on *American Geography*.[48]

Morse was a clergyman of the Congregational Church and practically all such in New England were bitter opponents of Jefferson. He endeavored to win Fisk over to his own views of Jefferson and his followers in the presidential election of 1800. Fisk had written this correspondent of his belief that "both the great parties into which the people of the United States are divided are desirous of the same result." To this Morse replied: "I firmly believe that some of the leaders of the Jacobins are hostile to our present constitution and would sincerely rejoice at the extirpation of Christianity. And I believe if these men are elevated into office, as there is reason to fear will be the case, they will do what in them lies to destroy both the Constitution and the Christian religion.[49]

Goodpasture makes this comment in a note introductory to this letter: "At the date of this letter Fisk was thoroughly identified in interest and feeling with the people of the Southwest," who were predominantly Republican. His connection with such leaders as General Daniel Smith and James Robertson indicates as much.

Shortly after establishing the town of Hilham, Fisk there engaged in the business of merchandising, in partnership with one Stowell. He was but following the example of such men as Andrew Jackson and James Winchester, who sought to amass estates by merchandising. He was soon to become involved in litigation in the conduct of his business, which involved shipments of staves by boat down the Cumberland River, the products to be used in payment for merchandise.[50] Patently Fisk was scattering his fire and losing not a little of his usefulness. Higher objectives began to pale as acquisitiveness increased.

Moses Fisk was much in demand as a land surveyor, particularly of large boundaries. Settlers were rushing into his county in the first two decades after its establishment; the number of whites

[47]He left a considerable amount of such literary materials, but these were taken, it was said, by one of his descendants to Texas. It is to be hoped that these may be found and ultimately placed in public archives in Texas or Tennessee.

[48]A. V. Goodpasture, in *American Historical Magazine*, II, 17-19.

[49]"Jedidiah Morse to Moses Fisk," *American Historical Magazine*, VII (1902), 373-74. A paragraph of this letter shows that Fisk in 1800 was contemplating making a settlement perhaps in the Alabama or Chickasaw country: "Nothing is yet concluded about the Georgia lands. . . . It is hoped the issue will be favorable to the purchasers. If so, your plans of settlement, which meet my own ideas perfectly, will come into consideration, and what I can do towards carrying them into effect will be cheerfully done."

[50]Cases were appealed to the superior court of Winchester District and tried in its 1809 term. *Fisk v. Copeland* and *Fisk v. Spain*, I Tenn. 303, 309.

who were of age more than doubled during that period. Fisk's earnings as surveyor of tracts of land were considerable, even though he could spare only a limited portion of his time to such work. Evidently he could not deny himself this addition to his already large estate. Not infrequently he received a part of the tract surveyed instead of cash fees.[51]

Because of his skill as a mathematician, Fisk was in demand as a surveyor or highway engineer. He is said by a local historian to have surveyed the Walton Road,[52] named for Captain William Walton, who constructed the highway in the years 1799-1801.

Fisk expended much of his time and money in establishing roads to and through Hilham, his pet project. One of these roads surveyed by Moses Fisk, "The Meridian Road," ran north and south through what was later Putnam County, from Sparta to Hilham, and was later extended to Burkesville, Kentucky.[53] Roads yet in use center at Hilham, though only one is a state-maintained highway. Other roads or turnpikes are mentioned by Goodpasture. In 1812 Fisk obtained a charter authorizing a turnpike "from Hilham to the highlands south of Roaring river"; in 1817 another for a turnpike "from Hilham to Obeds river"; and yet another was contemplated from the county seat of Jackson County to that of Overton County, "intersecting these other roads at Hilham."[54]

The village of Hilham has almost faded away. The high hopes of its founder that it would become a place of note met with eclipse. Fisk's residence in Hilham yet stands — a spacious two-story frame structure with a long one-story frame ell. It was located across the highway from the academy.

The Fisk and Goodpasture families for many years were friends and close neighbors. Moses Fisk, tiring of a bachelor's life, decided to get married. One suspects that he fell a victim of the charms of one of his pupils, Nancy Shultz.

> John Goodpasture . . . , who was a Justice of the Peace at the time, performed the marriage ceremony, when, sometime about 1815, Mr. Fisk,

[51]A reliable estimate of the land holdings at the time of his death was 30,000 acres.

[52]Walter S. McClain, *History of Putnam County* (Cookeville, 1925), 30. Broadly speaking this is the route of the modern national concrete highway from Southwest Point (Kingston on the Clinch) to Carthage. By this it is not to be understood that the highway has not been materially improved in recent decades. Construction materials and vastly larger sums of money have been used in its improvement. These were not available to Walton and Fisk when the road was laid out and constructed. The modernization was for the most part on the eastern and western escarpments of the Cumberland Mountains.

[53]*Ibid.*, 36. The road ran through Putnam County, a large part of which was cut off from Overton County. That latter county had more of the mileage of the Walton road than any other. *Ibid.*, 109.

[54]Goodpasture, *Overton County*, 9.

then more than fifty years of age, found himself a wife; and when, many years afterwards, they failed to agree, by their request, he [John Goodpasture] fixed the allowance to be made her upon their separation. She lived thenceforth in a house of her own, in the same yard, and both parties carried out their agreement faithfully as long as they lived.[55]

In the circumstances a gradual change in Fisk occurred; first a vegetation, and then a deterioration of his initiative and productivity. As age crept on he contented himself with serving as a justice of the peace and postmaster at Hilham. A degree of sourness must have tinged his life. Always eccentric, that quality increased with the passing years, so that most accounts of him in that period dwell upon his eccentricity and the abstractions of a scholar. He passed away in the year 1843.

Making allowance for the anti-climax of his last years, it must be reckoned that Moses Fisk left a record of essential service to his adopted state, Tennessee.

Nancy (Shultz) Fisk outlived her husband by many years, and it is a pleasure to record that she was buried next to the grave of her husband. In the last long sleep they were not divided. Unpretentious headstones bear their names.

To Moses and Nancy Fisk were born nine children. The oldest was a daughter, Celina, who married a grandson of Colonel Gilbert Christian, of Sullivan County, whose son, George (1767-1868), removed at an early day to Overton County, and settled near the home of the widow of General John Sevier and her sons. George, Jr. (or George W.) Christian may have been a pupil of Moses Fisk. Celina Fisk Christian was honored by the naming of the county seat of Clay County, Tennessee, in which town of Celina the great American statesman, Cordell Hull, began his career as a lawyer and politician. Moses Fisk's land holdings extended into that part of Overton County which became a part of the new county of Clay on its creation in 1870.

Other children were:

2. Sara Fisk, who married Sidney H. Little, above referred to.
3. Perilla Fisk, who married S. H. Leonard, also above mentioned.
4. Ardella Fisk, who married Harrison Staggs.
5. Zeda Fisk, who married Porter Christian, a brother of George W. Christian.
6. Orinel Fisk, who married Sara Denton.
7. Arkley Fisk, who married Eliza Allen.[56]

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[55]Goodpasture, *J. D. Goodpasture*, 22.

[56]Arkley Fisk was a physician. He removed to Missouri, near Carthage. "He and his wife and only child all met a tragic death at the hands of some slaves of a patient named Dale." (Mrs. Penelope J. Allen, Chattanooga, Tennessee.)

8. and 9 (twins). Elander Fisk, who married Thomas Gaw; Elana Fisk, who married James Stagg. The twins were born February 2, 1830.[57]

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Thus have passed in review in a series of three papers the careers of three Massachusetts-Tennesseans, George Roulstone, David Henley, and Moses Fisk.[58] Only one of the three has been given representation in the great *Dictionary of American Biography* — Roulstone. It is submitted that, under all fair tests, Moses Fisk left the deepest and most lasting impress upon the commonwealth all chose to make their home.

All three contributed to the beginnings of Tennessee — in the years of its infancy, when the social and governmental structures were at yet plastic. Fisk's claim to precedence in this regard rests largely on his work in the field of education and to the influence he exerted in bringing to Tennessee other New Englanders of natural parts and of college education.

Perhaps the deepest incision made by Fisk on the new community in Trans-Alleghania was as a civil engineer and builder of macadam roads (called "turnpikes") in this region, which was sadly in need of transportation facilities.

In 1902 there was an effort made to reestablish "Fisk Academy" at Hilham—an institution the purpose of which was to prepare pupils for college; it was co-educational and nonsectarian. The school was in operation for about two decades. It would be a graceful turn of Fate should two graduates of Dartmouth College, whose abilities were complimentary, make another effort to found a high grade academy at Hilham and carry on in the spirit of Moses Fisk.

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[57]The present writer feels that he would be derelict were he to fail to record his indebtness to two historians of the Daughters of the American Revolution in making this sketch as nearly definitive as it is. Mrs. Penelope J. Allen, for a number of years state historian of the DAR more than any other member of that organization, did outstanding research in farmily histories of Tennessee pioneers. Mrs. Charles F. Wayland, of Knoxville, historian of the Bonny Kate Chapter, has exhibited unusual skill and enterprise in rescuing documents which were decaying in the basement of the Knox County courthouse.

[58]The articles about the first two appeared in *Publications*, No. 17 (1945) and No. 18 (1946).

THE WILDERNESS ROAD IN TENNESSEE*

By Robert L. Kincaid

The Wilderness Road of pioneer times did not really belong to Tennessee. It barely touched the eastern confines of the region where the state of Tennessee began. It reached into the state along the Holston Valley from Bristol to Kingsport, but quickly broke away from the inviting valley, wound into the difficult hills of the southwest Virginia region through the gateway of Moccasin Gap, and picked its way over mountains and through narrow valleys until it came to the long, forbidding wall of the Cumberland mountain range with its broken escarpment of Cumberland Gap, where Kentucky, Tennessee, and Virginia join. Thus Tennessee has small claim to the true Wilderness Road of history.

The reason for this denial of a pleasant historical claim can be laid to the great Cherokee empire. The vast mountain region which was the home of the Cherokee lay athwart the logical advance route of the westward-spreading white settlers. The friendly southern Indians were too strong, too proud, too patriotic to give way easily to the hunters, traders, and squatters who would settle the lower valleys of the Holston River. The better route to the paradise land in Kentucky was not the way that Boone and his thirty axe-men chopped out in 1775 from Long Island (at the present Kingsport, Tennessee) to Cumberland Gap through the twisting hills of southwest Virginia, but rather down the Holston to what later became Bean's Station, and then across Clinch Mountain directly north to the open gate into the Kentucky wilderness. It was ten years after Boone opened his more difficult route before the trail down the Holston on Tennessee territory was safe for travel, and became the more used and better alternate route for the thousands of settlers who poured over the Wilderness Road to conquer the Northwest.

But this inability of Tennessee to claim much of the great old road which opened up the wilderness reaches of the limitless west cannot take away its importance to Tennessee. The road which reached southwestward across the New River at Ingle's Ferry (near Radford, Virginia) and thrust itself into the upper Tennessee regions before it pivoted northwestward for its entry into Kentucky was the principal feeder line for the magnificent domain later to become the

*An address delivered at the annual banquet of the East Tennessee Historical Society in Knoxville, October 3, 1947.

state of Tennessee.

The front line of advance for the white settlers pouring across the Appalachian divide from 1750 to 1760 had halted at New River during the French and Indian War. But it broke into a wild plunge forward after the removal of major barriers by two important Indian treaties, one with the Cherokee at Hard Labor, South Carolina, on October 17, 1768, and one with the Six Nations at Fort Stanwix, N. Y., on November 6, 1768. For land-hungry Virginians poised in the Southwest, the second treaty was the signal to break away for the next dash down the valleys of the western waters despite a clear violation of Cherokee rights under the agreement at Hard Labor.

Some settlers were already beyond the established treaty line and had never withdrawn from the Indian lands as required by the royal proclamation of 1763. The Dunkard settlement remained west of Ingle's Ferry. Stephen Holston erected a cabin in 1748 within thirty feet of the headsprings of the Holston thus giving the stream his name. Samuel Stalnaker built his cabin eight miles farther down on the Middle Fork of the Holston. Other settlers fanned out along the streams draining into the New River from the west, and surveyors for Dr. Thomas Walker and the Patton interests, connected with the Loyal Land Company, mapped hundreds of tracts for sale. Grants for services in the French and Indian War were being located by official surveyors far in the interior.

Significant in the immediate sweep westward was the military road built by Colonel Byrd's men from Fort Chiswell (near Wytheville, Virginia) to Long Island in 1761.[1] This soon became known as "the Great Road" or "Island Road" traversing the Holston Valley and was the second important link in the Wilderness Road.[2] It was an open invitation for settlers to hurry down the Holston to pick out sites for homes. It was an easy way into the wilderness, crossing no hard mountains, winding through broad valleys and over rolling knolls and hills. Branching from it were trails leading toward hidden and land-locked coves and retreats the Long Hunters had discovered. The road soon became filled with families moving in with their household plunder to claim the land taken from the sullen but still friendly

[1]Major Andrew Lewis, under Colonel William Byrd III, used three companies to cut out a usable wagon road from Fort Chiswell to Long Island (Kingsport) in the summer of 1761. This was the aftermath of the dilatory and fruitless effort of Colonel Byrd in 1760 to relieve the besieged garrison of ill-fated Fort Loudoun. Major Lewis and his men probably constructed Fort Robinson at Long Island immediately after the road was built. S. C. Williams (ed.), *Memoirs of Lieut. Henry Timberlake,* 1756-1765 (Johnson City, 1927), 38n; S. C. Williams, *Dawn of Tennessee Valley and Tennessee History* (Johnson City, 1937), 265; S. C. Williams, "Fort Robinson on the Holston," in East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications,* No. 4 (Knoxville, 1932), 25.

[2]See R. G. Thwaites and L. P. Kellogg, *Documentary History of Dunmore's War,* 1744 (Madison, 1905), for numerous references to "the Great Road," which was an important factor in the movement of defenders of the Holston frontier during that prelude to the Revolution in the West.

Cherokee.

To understand the importance of this road, let us describe this picturesque empire west of the mountains using present-day names for identification. The parallel Blue Ridge and Allegheny chains take up their general course into the Southwest after being cut by the defiant New River flowing north out of the mountains of North Carolina. But the valleys become broadened and are ribbed by intervening smaller and irregular chains, running in the same direction. The troughs between these ribs give rise to the three forks of the Holston.[3]

Parallel with these streams on the north but separated from them by the long escarpment of Clinch Mountain, is the Clinch River, named for a long hunter. It heads a few miles east of Tazewell, Virginia, and a southern affluent is Maiden Springs Creek, rising in Bowen's Cove in Tazewell County. Wedged in against the Cumberlands, the final northern ramp is Powell's Valley with its river. Like the little finger of the hand, this valley is much shorter and begins fifty miles west of the source of the Clinch.

Thus five distinct but irregular parallel valleys between sharp upthrusts of hills and mountains, crossed here and there by wind and water gaps, stretch long fingers southwestward into the East Tennessee country. Here the valleys are multiplied south of the Holston by the Watauga, Doe, Nolichucky, French Broad, and Little Tennessee, all ultimately to form the noble Tennessee River.

"The Great Road" coming out of southwest Virginia followed the Middle Fork of the Holston and cut at a slender angle the southern limits of Virginia on latitude 36°30′ at Bristol, Virginia. From that point to Long Island, the road was in North Carolina (subsequently Tennessee) territory, unknown to Virginians until later surveys established the true boundary. It bisected a rich and fertile limestone region of vast reaches.

On this southern sector of the long frontier of the Allegheny crest converged three separate tides of expansion. One stream rolled southwest through the main trough of the Shenandoah Valley, which tapped the pools of population in central Pennsylvania, Maryland, and northeastern points. Another was along the broad front of the Blue Ridge, from the east, trickling over the chain through widely separated gaps and pouring into the valley traversed by the "Great Road." The third stream gathered in the Yadkin country of North Carolina, picked its way through the Blue Ridge and the Great Smokies, and pooled in the Watauga country for convergence with the main tide flowing down the Holston.

[3]See map on end papers, R. L. Kincaid, *The Wilderness Road* (Indianapolis and New York, 1947).

One of the first men to follow the military road beyond the Stalnaker settlement was Arthur Campbell, who settled at the present site of Marion, Virginia, in 1768 on land purchased by his father three years before. Married to his first cousin, Margaret Campbell, he build a home which he called "Royal Oak." For forty years this violatile, temperamental, red-headed son of a Scotchman was a prominent figure on the frontier and his home was a familiar way-station on the Wilderness Road. He was the progenitor of a clan which became well-known in Virginia and Tennessee history.

Soon after Campbell's arrival at Royal Oak, a first cousin, William Campbell, settled one mile east of Seven Mile Fork on the Middle Fork of the Holston. This tract had been patented by his father several years before and encompassed the then unknown mineral land where later the famous salt works of Saltville, Virginia, were developed. William married Elizabeth Henry, sister of Patrick Henry. His career, cut short by his untimely death soon after the surrender of Cornwallis, was more spectacular than that of his cousin because of his heroic participation in the battles of Point Pleasant, King's Mountain, and Guilford Court House.

Twenty-eight miles west of Royal Oak was the territory known as Wolf Hills, later to become Abingdon, where in 1770 a group of settlers took up land which they bought from Dr. Thomas Walker of the Loyal Land Company. By 1773 the people in this region had become so numerous that they organized a church at Sinking Spring. The Rev. Charles Cummings, a Scotch-Irish Presbyterian preacher, famous in pioneer history, became their pastor.

The next outpost developed around Evan Shelby's home at Sapling Grove, the future site of Bristol, Tennessee-Virginia, where the road intersected the dividing line between North Carolina and Virginia. Shelby, born in 1720 in Wales, migrated to America with his father about 1735. Residing near North Mountain in Maryland, he became a noted woodsman, hunter, and Indian trader, and served as a captain in the French and Indian War. In 1770 he came to the Holston country to look over the prospects. Finding the new region to his liking he returned to Marvland, disposed of his property, and in 1772 bought lands north of the Holston which he thought were in Virginia, built a home and opened a store. He prospered at this outpost, and was soon joined by his sons, Issac, James, and Evan, Jr. Thus the Shelby family embarked upon careers which were to shape future events.

But Captain Shelby's settlement at Sapling Grove was eclipsed by another center farther along the road to the west, where embryonic statesmen learned the first lessons of self-government in their new

freedom. William Bean, of Pittsylvania County, Virginia, was the first to hide his cabin deep in the wilderness which became the state of Tennessee. By 1772 hundreds of home seekers had made their way to the Watauga, and north of the Holston in Carter's Valley.

But this advance was not without its difficulties. Within two years after the treaty of Hard Labor, the Virginians had violated its provisions by swarming west for more than a hundred miles beyond the boundary line at New River, and it was necessary for another "talk" with the Cherokee. On October 18, 1770, at Lochaber, South Carolina, the long-suffering Cherokee gave way again and agreed to a new line following the Virginia-North Carolina boundary (36°30′) to a point six miles east of Long Island and then running north to the mouth of the Great Kanawha. Accordingly, in 1771, Col. John Donelson, with Attakullakulla, "half-king" of the Cherokee, and Alexander Cameron, the southern Indian agent, as observers, surveyed the new boundary. Instead of surveying the 36°30′ parallel, they accepted the South Fork and the Holston as the line, thus placing Shelby's Sapling Grove settlement in ceded territory and temporarily in Virginia. When they reached the headwaters of the Kentucky River, Attakullakulla in another moment of generosity agreed that the line might proceed along that river to its confluence with the Ohio, provided the Virginians would give five hundred pounds for the much increased area. The line was so established but the Cherokee never collected the promised and unauthorized payment.

This new concession took care of the Virginians west of the New River, but when the men on the Watauga discovered they were still on Cherokee territory they were dismayed. After considerable negotiation, they temporarily solved the issue by obtaining from the Indians a lease of the lands for ten years.

The Wataugans were an undisciplined frontier group made up of many elements, — hunters, adventurers, dissenters, home-seekers, and even some criminals trying to get beyond the reach of the law. The majority were from the counties of western North Carolina and still bore smouldering resentment against oppressive measures which led to the Regulators' War. Quite a few had fled from their mother colony before or after the tragic battle of Alamance, May 16, 1771. Scourged, persecuted, and threatened in this prelude to the universal revolution of 1776, they sought refuge in the freedom of the wilderness far from the seat of authority. Mingled with these revolters against exorbitant taxes and unreasonable measures were many men from southwest Virginia of like boldness and spirit. In the alchemy of necessity, hardship, danger, and isolation on the frontier

a new government was in the making in defiance of the authority of North Carolina.

One of the ablest of the first Wataugans was John Carter, who in 1770 had come from Albemarle, Cumberland County, Virginia, to settle in Carter's Valley west of the Holston River a short distance below Long Island. Here he had a post for trade with the Indians, and although originally beyond the first Watauga settlement he was soon brought within the perimeter of its development. To him is credited the idea for the formation of an independent government whereby civil and political affairs could be regulated.

Another Wataugan was James Robertson, a Virginian by birth but later of Orange County, North Carolina, who first visited the region in 1770 and brought out his family and a large group of friends the following year. At twenty-eight he was making the first important step toward a career which was to establish his name as "the Father of Tennessee." Familiar with the type of associations formed in North Carolina to deal with the perplexing problems which culminated in the Regulators' War, he pooled his views with those of the older and more conservative Carter.

In the spring of 1772, Carter, Robertson, and other leaders drafted the articles which launched "The Watauga Association" as the first independent governmental body formed by native Americans. It was a loose, flexible type of agreement but it provided for a skeleton government with five commissioners to direct the affairs of the settlements. A majority of these directors had the power "to decide all matters of controversy and to govern and direct for the common good." Carter and Robertson were members of this original body.

Historians have been complimentary in their accounts of this bold experiment in self-government on the frontier, and none have been more eloquent than Theodore Roosevelt in his *Winning of the West*: "The Watauga settlers outlined in advance the nation's work. They tamed the rugged and shaggy wilderness, they bid defiance to outside foes, and they successfully solved the difficult problem of self-government."[4]

Another person who was to have a large share in its fortunes soon entered the Watauga country. Young John Sevier, born of Huguenot heritage in Augusta County, Virginia, September 23, 1745, followed the road leading to Watauga in 1771. Fair-haired, blue-eyed, debonair, and of powerful build, he took along a load of goods for trade. In 1772 he made another trip, and on this occasion attended a horse race at Watauga Old Fields where the Doe meets

[4]Theodore Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West*, 6 vols. (New York, 1905), I, 242-243.

the Watauga. Here he saw a rough, savage fellow forcibly take a horse from a travelling stranger pretending that he had won him in a bet. Sevier was so disgusted that he remarked that he did not want to live where such things were permitted. Wise old Evan Shelby told him: "Never mind those rascals; they'll soon take poplar," — meaning get in canoes and leave. Whether Shelby's rejoinder had anything to do with Sevier's decision is speculative, but late in 1773 the future governor of Tennessee brought his family to the new country where he was to rise to fame.

So it was that deep in the Cherokee country rose a cluster of settlements which was the supply pool for the migratory flood funnelling through Cumberland Gap and spreading over the future states of Tennessee and Kentucky. Here the Wilderness Road pivoted on its stretch down the Holston to turn northwestward to Kentucky. From the stations along the Holston from Sapling Grove to Long Island, and on the Watauga, came the pioneers who fought back the occasional uprisings of the Cherokee, helped to win the revolution by marching to King's Mountain, and furnished relief parties for besieged and insecure settlements in far-off Kentucky. "The Holston Men," as they were commonly called, responded many times to the appeals of their distressed Kentucky neighbors and set out in swift expeditions over the dangerous road through the great wilderness to drive the red hordes back across the Ohio. Likewise, some of them were recruits of George Rogers Clark in his history-making conquests in the Northwest.

No point on the Wilderness Road had greater activity from 1775 to 1795 than the Watauga area. At the supply stations from Bristol to Long Island the many thousands of travelers to the West stopped to visit with neighbors and friends, gather their supplies, repair their guns, fill their packs, and push off into the wilderness in large companies with armed guards.

But more important to the future of the embryonic states of Kentucky and Tennessee were the leaders trained in frontier life on this section of the Wilderness Road. Prominent among these was General Isaac Shelby, hero of King's Mountain and worthy son of Captain Evan Shelby at Sapling Grove. Destiny beckoned strongly to him and he followed the Wilderness Road to fame and distinction as the first governor of Kentucky. Also, it was at this point that General James Robertson emerged as a frontier statesman. He took to the Wilderness Road in the hard winter of 1779 with a small company of brave men to found the settlement of the future city of Nashville at Old French Lick on the Cumberland. This Wilderness Road through Virginia was the only overland route between

Watauga and the future Cumberland settlements. It was also from the boat yard at Long Island that Colonel John Donelson, who captained the good boat, *Adventure,* took off with a fleet of vessels on December 22, 1779, and made the memorable voyage down the Holston and the Tennessee, and up the Ohio and the Cumberland to join General Robertson's company, who had preceded them by the overland route. This voyage of the Donelson party, so well known to all students of Tennessee history, is one of the most gripping and memorable sagas in pioneer history.

So it was that in the decade between 1775 and 1785 the settlements from Sapling Grove to Long Island and on the Watauga furnished much of the man power, the provisions, and the leadership which maintained the far-flung, frail settlements on the Kentucky and Cumberland frontiers. Boone's Road through southwest Virginia was the first route used, but after Robert Bean, son of William Bean, settled at Bean's Station, the new alternative link down the north side of the Holston came into common use. From 1785 until the Wilderness Road lapsed into oblivion in the middle of the 19th century, this new route down the Holston to Bean's Station and across Clinch Mountain to Cumberland Gap was the accepted link between the populated areas of the Southwest and the Northwest, which had leaped into a national empire by 1800.

It is not possible to detail the history of the settlements along the new road from Long Island to Bean's Station. But significant and interesting is the development of Rogersville, Tennessee. No story of this important pioneer village, which even today retains much of the flavor of colonial times, is complete without mention of Thomas Amis, a staunch old Huguenot, who settled there about 1781, erected a stone house, and operated a tavern, grist mill, and distillery.[5] Until his death in 1797 he was a prominent man on the frontier and entertained in his home many distinguished travelers passing along the Wilderness Road. These included the elder Andre Michaux, the French botanist and explorer; young Andrew Jackson; and the swashbuckling John Sevier.

Bishop Asbury often stopped at the Amis tavern in his many journeys to the Kentucky outposts. In 1790 the good Bishop was considerably annoyed by the hardend frontiersman who was host to so many travelers. Writing in his journal the Bishop commented:

> We came back to Amis', a poor sinner. He was highly offended that we prayed so loud in his house. He is a distiller of whiskey and boasts of gaining three hundred pounds per annum by the brewing of his poison. We talked very plainly; and I told him it was of necessity, and not of choice, that

[5]*The Huguenot, Publication* No. 4, of the Huguenot Society of the Founders of Manakin in the Colony of Virginia (San Francisco, 1929), 31-35.

we were there – that I feared the face of no man. He said he did not desire me to trouble myself about his soul.[6]

However, on later trips the Bishop and Amis had pleasanter visits and perhaps Amis, in his old age, became better prepared for his departure from the troubled world. Amis was married twice and had sixteen children. His descendants are still numerous throughout Tennessee and Kentucky. One son, Lincoln Amis, removed to Clay County, Kentucky, where he became the founder of the famous Goose Creek Salt Works.

The stone house erected by Amis near the town of Rogersville is still standing. Forty-six feet in length by sixteen feet in breadth, with a wall eighteen inches thick, it was originally constructed so that it could be easily defended against Indian attacks. A son-in-law of Amis was Joseph Rogers, a native of Ireland, who settled on a portion of the Amis estate and gave his name to the county seat. No story of the Wilderness Road in Tennessee is complete without prominent mention of Thomas Amis and his family at Rogersville. He is worthy of a fuller treatment in a monograph.

Few places in East Tennessee history are more significant than that of Bean's Station, although it was never more than a small group of houses. Established by Robert Bean, son of William Bean, Tennessee's first white settler, it was the point on the road from the East to the Southwest through Tennessee where practically all travel turned north toward Cumberland Gap for the entrance into Kentucky and the Northwest. For a hundred years it maintained its prominence as an important way-station. In 1813 a beautiful brick tavern was erected which for more than a century served travelers passing along the Holston Valley or starting their journey across Clinch Mountain to Cumberland Gap. Here many pioneer and ante-bellum leaders often stopped, including Henry Clay, Andrew Jackson, and James K. Polk. This tavern was in continuous operation until 1941, when it was removed by the TVA because the area was to be inundated by the Cherokee Dam. It is the plan of the TVA to re-erect this tavern at a convenient site on the waters of Cherokee Lake. But the original site of Bean's Station, so important in our history, is now but a memory.

The section of the Wilderness Road from Bean's Station to Cumberland Gap is not of particular interest, but from 1785 until well past the Civil War period it constantly groaned under the burden of heavy traffic passing from the valley of the Holston across the mountain ranges into the Bluegrass of Kentucky. As a postroad and stage route it was an important unit in the rapidly developing

[6] *The Journal of the Rev. Francis Asbury,* 3 vols. (New York, 1821), II, 71.

highway system of America. It was always a difficult route because of the high backbone of Clinch Mountain which had to be negotiated. A narrow road of chugholes, boulders, precipices, and winding declivities, it certainly was not a thoroughfare to inspire poetic effusions. It was, however, a good counterpart for the Kentucky section of the road, which James Lane Allen portrayed as one which taxed the patience and Christian fortitude of the travellers. Allen in writing of the Kentucky road in 1890 said: "Perhaps one of the provocations to homicide among the mountain people should be reckoned this road. I have seen two of the mildest of men, after riding over it for a few hours, lose their temper and begin to fight—fight anything—fight their horses, fight the flies, fight the cobwebs on their noses."[7]

In the many diaries and travel accounts there are many picturesque descriptions of the Tennessee portion of the road. One account of the road from Bean's Station to Cumberland Gap was given in the *Knoxville Times* in 1839, written by J. C. Trautwine,[8] a civil engineer then living in Knoxville, who made a trip to see some of the wonders around Cumberland Gap. At that time, the best route from Knoxville to Cumberland Gap was by way of Bean's Station. A portion of Trautwine's description gives a good picture of what he found along the way over a hundred years ago:

> At Bean's Station, the Kentucky road turns off to the north, nearly at right angles to the main line to Virginia. The Kentucky road, in consequence of its mountainous character, requires constant attention to preserve it in travelling order, and is on that account placed under the superintendence of commissioners appointed by the legislature. The only means at their disposal are the tolls, which being collected at one gate, are paid by those only who happen to pass through it, and probably bear but a small proportion to what would be obtained by having one or two more gates. Small as the funds thus collected are, however, a judicious appropriation of them has rendered this, generally speaking, a capital summer road; many parts of it, in crossing the mountains and intervening ridges, are very well graded at easy slopes. . . . The crossing of the Clinch is rather too steep, and in some places too narrow to allow two carriages to pass each other . . . .
>
> Half a mile after leaving Bean's Station, immediately on the right edge of the road, and about two hundred yards beyond where it first strikes a

[7] "Mountain Passes of the Cumberland," *Harper's Monthly Magazine,* LXXXI (September, 1890), 565.

[8] John C. Trautwine was a civil engineer from Philadelphia, Pa., who served as chief engineer of the Hiwassee Railroad from 1836 to 1842. He returned to Philadelphia to continue his distinguished career, serving on important engineering projects. He was a frequent contributor to scientific journals. While in Knoxville he was a member of the Knoxville Lyceum and Junto, local literary societies. In 1839 he wrote a fifteen-page pamphlet, "Some Remarks on the Internal Improvement System in the South," which was published in Philadelphia. He died in that city in 1883.

small stream, are three sulphur springs,[9] where those who affect such "odorus abominations" may indulge their sulphurous propensities *ad libitum,* for I am informed by a medical gentleman who has submitted their waters to chemical analysis, that although they rise within a few feet of each other, they differ materially in the proportions of their components . . . .

The road runs very prettily along the stream before-mentioned until nearly two miles from the Station, there the creek turns to the left, and you find yourself at the foot of Clinch Mountain.

As you begin to ascend, look back, and you will find what the trees along the road before prevented you from seeing, that you have been riding through the deep gap of quite an elevated ridge, or small mountain. During the ascent you occasionally catch a glimpse of some fine scenery through the trees, but it is not until you have reached the summit of the Gap, that the view breaks upon you in its full force.

Ridge after ridge rises before you; at your feet lies the one you have just passed, dwindled to a mere hill, and apparently so near that you can almost count the leaves on the trees; another lies just beyond it, but less distinct; —another beyond it, still less so, and so on until the strained eye can scarcely distinguish their faint outlines from those of the floating clouds. Bean's Station, distant between two and three miles, appears, with its race-course, to be within a few minutes walk. The summit of the Gap is very narrow, a mere edge and you begin immediately to descend its north slope. . . .

Leaving the toll-house, the road follows the deep valley of a small creek, which leaps in a succession of tiny cascades, along its rocky bed of hard blue limestone, as if running a race with our vehicle. We had the advantage of it, however, in a road McAdamised with stones varying in size from a man's head, to that of a flour barrel; over which we rattled, with a motion truly edifying to the peristaltic organization of a dyspeptic. Oh! John Loudon McAdam, Esq., how is thy worthy name abused; however, peace be to thy ashes, John, (if they burned thee,) albeit thou hast been the innocent cause of surpassing misery to thy fellow-men.[10]

Trautwine's uncomplimentary reference to John Loudon Mc Adam was perhaps justified in the light of conditions in road-making of that day. The efforts to improve the Wilderness Road were continuous but largely ineffectual from the time it was widened for wagons. Bishop Asbury, who sloshed and jolted over it so many times in the early days, finally abandoned it for his journeys to and from Kentucky, using instead the route from Nashville to central Kentucky. But travellers passing back and forth from East Tennessee and eastern points to the Bluegrass land continued to use the link from Bean's Station to Cumberland Gap. Its more difficult stretches were worked on periodically by local crewmen to keep it

[9]These springs were frequently mentioned in travellers' accounts. It was here that the Mineral Springs Hotel was built by the roadside many years ago, which continued in operation until 1941. The area is now flooded by back waters of Cherokee Lake on the Holston, one of the series of TVA reservoirs in the Tennessee River system. These springs are not to be confused with the famous Tate Springs resort, two miles east of Bean's Station, which is now operated as a private school.

[10]*The Knoxville Times,* May 24, 28, 1839.

passable. McAdam's new system of paving with stones was the first scientific approach to a permanent road bed after the old-time pole or corduroy method was tried. But pioneer roads through mountain areas could not adequately be maintained with the materials and methods then used. Certainly the Wilderness Road from Bean's Station to Crab Orchard, Kentucky, for the century of its effective use is best described in the words of Bishop Asbury as "the worst on the whole contintent."[11]

But there is a noble dignity about the rough old road which was most important to the growing West. The proud commonwealths of Tennessee and Kentucky must credit it with their founding and maintenance, during the period when the great wilderness was being conquered. Many other states carved out of the Northwest and Southwest territories were made strong and powerful by the countless travelers who came over the road from the populated centers east of the Appalachian range to seek their fortunes in the West. Never more than a thin, narrow, difficult trail winding over the mountains, across streams, and through morasses in small valleys, it was the life-line which maintained a rapidly growing new empire.

But any road is a dead, inanimate thing, with no beauty, no soul. That may be said of the Wilderness Road around which cluster so many associations of hardship, danger, suffering, and death. But place upon its long winding defiles a continuous caravan of men, women, and children trudging along on foot in rain, snow, and ice or pushing forward on horseback or huddled together in rumbling wagons, with strong and resolute faces lined with care and weariness, always moving toward the setting sun, toward an unknown but challenging destiny, and the road becomes a living thing. Then look upon the road in the perspective of history. Every turn in it tells of heroic deeds; every camp site is hallowed ground; every river crossing is a new conquest; every spot where bodies of nameless brave people have returned to dust becomes a sacred shrine guarded by phantom sentinels. Then it is easy to hear the shuffling feet of countless legions marching to greatness in building a new nation.

The Wilderness Road is the epic of young America on the march.

[11] *The Journal of the Rev. Francis Asbury*, III, 118.

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH IN EAST TENNESSEE

By Harry C. Wagner

Among the many religious bodies indigenous to America, the group known locally as the Christian Church, the Church of Christ, and Disciples of Christ[1] is the largest and probably the most influential. It dates back to the early years of the nineteenth century, and is a product of the American frontier.

The Disciples of Christ originated in two main sources. The first was a movement led by Barton W. Stone of Kentucky, a Presbyterian minister whose personal experience with Calvinistic theology led him to repudiate the doctrine and to make an open break with the Presbyterian Synod of Kentucky. In this he was aided by several other Presbyterian ministers. Stone was personally connected with the famous Caneridge revival in the first years of the nineteenth century. Charged with heresy for preaching un-Calvinistic doctrines, Stone and his colleagues were tried, convicted, and excluded from the Presbyterian Church. They then organized a new presbytery, known as the Springfield Presbytery. On June 28, 1804, these same men formally dissolved their presbytery and took "the Bible, and the Bible alone, as their only rule of faith and practice." Henceforth they were known simply as "Christians." Their independent study of the Scriptures soon led them to abandon infant baptism and to accept immersion as the only valid baptism. Thus they became more closely allied with the Baptists in doctrine.[2]

The second main source of the Disciples of Christ arose in the general locality where the present states of Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and Ohio join. It was led by two scholarly Irish Presbyterian ministers, Thomas Campbell and Alexander Campbell, his son.

Thomas Campbell, a man of deep piety and fraternal spirit, had attempted unsuccessfully in Ireland to unite four factions of the Seceder Presbyterian Church. On May 27, 1807, the elder Campbell arrived in the New World. He had come in pursuit of health and a more congenial atmosphere in which to preach his ideas of

[1]Disciples of Christ is the legal and official title. However, few local churches use the title. Christian Church and Church of Christ are both widely used by local congregations. In East Tennessee and other widely scattered areas, Church of Christ is used exclusively by a group not now affiliated with the Disciples of Christ. They were originally one, however, and the present day division has no bearing on the history related in this paper.

[2]For a concise treatment of this Stone movement see M. M. Davis, *How the Disciples Began and Grew* (Cincinnati, 1915), 107-123.

Christian unity. He immediately received an appointment from the synod of his Church, meeting at Philadelphia, and began preaching in Washington County, Pennsylvania. Pittsburgh was the center of his territory. Early in his American ministry, Thomas Campbell invited other Presbyterians, not of the Seceder branch, to partake of the Lord's Supper. For this act he was censured by his presbytery. He appealed his case to the Synod of North America, where, in spite of his masterly appeal, the censure was upheld. Thereupon, Thomas Campbell declared his independence of all human tribunals, and from the North American Synod in particular. However, he did not break with the Presbyterian Church at this time, but continued his ministry among his neighbors and friends, with whom he had great personal influence. At one of these meetings in a private home, Thomas Campbell summed up the position of the group in a sentence which later became a popular slogan: "Where the Scriptures speak, we speak; and where the Scriptures are silent, we are silent."[3]

Later, on August 17, 1809, this group organized The Christian Association of Washington. The aim of this organization was simply to promote Christian unity. This is set forth in a document by Thomas Campbell entitled *The Declaration and Address*. Briefly this was a declaration of independence from all ecclesiastical organizations and an "address" setting forth the desirability of Christian unity and a proposed basis of union.[4]

Two years after Thomas Campbell came to America, his son, Alexander, and other members of the family followed.[5] In that two-year interval Alexander Campbell had completed his education at Glasgow University. There he had come under liberal influences and had decided to abandon sectarianism and devote his life to the propagation of Christian unity. In this he wholly agreed with his father, and by virtue of his real ability and vigorous youth soon displaced his father as the leader in the movement.

In order to enjoy the privileges of formal worship, the Campbells and their followers organized Brush-Run Church, May 4, 1811, near the juncture of West Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Ohio.[6] Within a year's time the Campbells abandoned infant baptism and sprinkling. This paved the way for a brief alliance with the Baptist Church. In 1813 the Brush-Run Church joined the Redstone Bap-

[3]W. T. Moore, *Comprehensive History of the Disciples of Christ* (New York, 1909), 102.

[4]*Ibid.*, 109, 110. The publication of *The Declaration and Address* has been accepted as the actual beginning of the Disciples of Christ. The centennial celebration was held in Pittsburgh in 1909.

[5]Davis, *How the Disciples Began and Grew*, 48.

[6]*Ibid.*, 72.

tist Association. Trouble soon arose, and in 1823 the Brush-Run Church joined the Mahoning Baptist Association of eastern Ohio. The fellowship in this group was more congenial. In due time the whole association adopted the views of the Campbells. In 1830 the Mahoning Baptist Association formally dissolved itself as an official body and agreed to meet the following August at New Lisbon, Ohio, simply for fellowship and report of progress.[7] This brief relationship with the Baptist Association is the basis for the somewhat popular and erroneous idea that the Christian Church is simply an offshoot of the Baptist Church.

The groups led by Barton W. Stone and Alexander Campbell, although wholly independent in origin, were almost identical in beliefs. The two leaders did not meet until 1824, and it was not until eight years later, January 1, 1832, that the groups were formally united in a meeting at Lexington, Kentucky.[8] The beginnings of the Christian Church in East Tennesse seem to have been connected with the Stone movement, although the connection is difficult to establish on documentary grounds.

The oldest existing Christian church in Tennessee is Post Oak Springs Church, located two miles east of Rockwood on U. S. Highway number seventy. Conclusions drawn from several known facts would establish the date of its founding about 1812. A group from Hawkins County, Tennessee, were among the settlers who came to what is now Roane County after the Treaty of Tellico, 1805, when the territory was opend to the white man. The leader of this group was Isaac Rice, who was accompanied by a brother-in-law, William Matlock, and Joseph Mee. Rice built his cabin on a small hill above the spring which now supplies Rockwood with water, and Matlock and Mee built nearby. About 1812 these three men built a log meeting-house and organized a congregation. Rice, the preacher and leader of the group, preached views contrary to the majority of his neighbors in an enthusiastic and uncompromising manner, thus provoking antagonism and bitter controversy.[9] Sometime between 1814 and 1817 Rice's church was burned, a fact we infer from two entries from a Roane County deed book. The first, dated June 7, 1814, re-

[7] *Millenial Harbinger* (Bethany, Va.), I (September, 1830), 414, 415.

[8] Davis, *How the Disciples Began and Grew*, 119. In no sense must this union be construed as an ecclesiastical organization. It was simply a recognition on the part of all participants of their common ideals and purposes. Each congregation was left free to manage its own affairs. Such is still the case among the Christian churches. There is no ecclesiastical head, or headquarters, recognized by all. Cognizance of this fact will help explain the purely local nature of the subsequent history in this paper.

[9] W. E. McElwee, A Local Reminiscence of the Christian Church. This is an unpublished manuscript now in possession of Miss Dorothy Tarwater of Rockwood, Tennessee. It is a true reminiscence, quaintly but not badly written. It is in part based on research. Hereafter cited as McElwee MS.

fers to "Rice's Meeting house"; another, dated February 3, 1817, refers to "Rice's burnt meeting house."[10]

Rice suspected an incendiary and accused a man named Brooks. In a subsequent trial Brooks was acquitted, but Rice was never satisfied with the verdict and not long afterward moved to McMinn County, settling at what is now Riceville. Shortly afterwards he died.[11]

The source of Rice's religious views is obscure. Essentially they were the same as those of Barton W. Stone, but present data do not warrant the conclusion that Rice ever heard Stone. All of Stone's contacts with Tennessee were in the neighborhood of Nashville.[12] We therefore assume that Rice came to his religious position independently of Stone.

Existing data point to the conclusion that after Rice left Roane County some of his followers formed the core of the Post Oak Springs Church, which was located in the same general vicinity where Rice had preached.[13] By 1834 there was a thriving congregation at Post Oak Springs. Extensive research in the old Christian Church periodicals of the time has brought to light the following news item:

> Bro. Isaac Malkey [Mulkey] of Roane Co., E. Ten. July 5, 1834 Thus writes: I moved to this place 8 or 9 months ago. There were here 16 or 17, old disciples, who had been congregated 15 or 20 years ago by bro. E. D. Moore. Last Sept. we organized as nearly as we could with our knowledge on primitive grounds. On every first day we meet to break bread—we attend to the Apostles doctrine, fellowship and prayers. In November I had the pleasure of seeing one neighbor come and confess the Lord; and from that time we have enjoyed glorious refreshing seasons—between 90 and 100 have been immersed.[14]

Nothing more is know of the E. D. Moore mentioned by Mulkey. In all probability he was some travelling evangelist who reorganized the group after the departure of Rice. The indefinite "15 or 20 years ago" given by Mulkey leaves room for such a conclusion. Following Moore's work, the leadership seems to have devolved upon local men, as was frequently the case in the early Christian churches. Among these local leaders Major John Smith was the most influential, aided by a man named Acred and another named Long. In 1836, under the ministry of Isaac Mulkey, William J. Owings came into the fellowship of the Post Oak Springs Church and within a few years was ordained to preach. From about 1850 until well after

[10]Deed Book E (Roane County Courthouse, Kingston, Tennessee), 139.
[11]McElwee MS.
[12]C. C. Ware, *Barton Warren Stone* (St. Louis, n.d.), 200.
[13]McElwee MS.
[14]*Christian Messenger* (Georgetown, Ky.), VIII (September, 1834), 282. This periodical was edited and published by Barton W. Stone at various places as he traveled about.

the Civil War, Owings and his brother-in-law, John H. Acuff, shared the leadership of the Church.[15]

During the fratricidal war, both the Methodist and Christian churches at Post Oak Springs were forced to suspend operations. As in most East Tennessee communities neighbor was pitted against neighbor and often brother against brother. John Acuff of the Christian Church had four sons—two in the Confederate army and two in the Union army. One son in the Confederate army was killed.

After the war was over, both the Methodist and Christian churches at Post Oak Springs attempted to reorganize. John Acuff led in uniting the Christian church. He arranged for a communion service at the church on a Lord's Day, and at the close of a service at which he presumably preached, he invited all people, of whatever communion, creed, or belief to partake of the emblems in memory of the death of Christ. Two of his sons, one from the Union army and one from the Confederate army, came forward and sat down together. Others followed, and the wounds of the church were thus healed.

What happened at the Methodist church is best told in the words of Captain McElwee:

> At the Methodist Church a certain Rev. Hyder had called a like service. He drew out the roster or roll list of members and called the roll. Eighty-four answered present. He then announced that he was going to organize a loyal church, and as he re-read the list of names he struck off sixty-one as being disloyal, leaving twenty-three to organize.[16]

In due time most of this excommunicated group united with the Christian church, thus reversing the numerical status of the two churches. Further disagreement among the Methodists resulted in closing their church for years.

The new-found harmony and prosperity of the Post Oak Springs Christian Church was short-lived. During the war W. J. Owings had gone to Kentucky and had amassed a considerable fortune in the mercantile business. After the war when he returned to his old home and became prominent in the Christian Church, he was enamoured of the idea that the early Christians had all things in common.[17] Proceeding to put his beliefs into practice, he established on a large farm about three miles from Post Oak Springs a community where the residents had all things in common.[18] Several members

[15]McElwee MS.
[16]*Ibid.* It is well to remember that McElwee was a Methodist.
[17]Acts 2:44-45.
[18]The details of this experiment were furnished by Mrs. E. C. Wilson of Rockwood, Tennessee, a granddaughter of Owings. Interview, June, 1941.

of the church went with Owings out of conviction, but many of the shiftless of the section gravitated to the community as a means of an easy living.

A large farmhouse was extended into the proportions of a hotel, and, in addition, eight two-room cottages were built. A commodious room in the house served as the common dining room, while an adjacent smaller building was used as a kitchen. A large second-story room was set aside for a place of worship. There, twice daily, Owings, in true partiarchal style, gathered his flock for religious instruction and prayer. The farm and a mill seem to have been the extent of the enterprise connected with the experiment. It was a financial failure from the beginning and subsisted only on Owings' money. He gave it a thorough trial, however, the experiment lasting between four and five years.

Its actual break-up is a human interest story concerning the women in the community. The wife of the elder Owings was industrious and had made for her cottage home fancy quilts and carpets for the floor. Other women complained because she had things which they did not have. Owings took the matter up with his wife and pointed out that their ideals, if lived up to, must lead her to sharing her quilts and carpets. Her response is said to have been an emphatic "I ain't a gwine to do it!" Another Mrs. Owings, a daughter-in-law, knitted and sold the products to buy for herself a small handbag. Other women complained that she was not sharing "all things" with them. The young Mrs. Owings reminded them if they were not so lazy they, too, could have nice things. An accumulation of such problems led to the disbanding of the community, and Owings was left penniless. He had lost probably sixty or seventy thousand dollars in the venture. Admitting that his idea was impractical, Owings, with the more sincere members in the experiment, returned to the fold of the Post Oak Church. There he spent the remaining years of his life an ardent supporter of his first views. In the years since Owings' ill-advised venture, Post Oak Springs Church has carried on in much the same manner as most country churches.

Post Oak Springs Church has been called "the mother church in the state." This is true only in the sense of priority in time. In no way were all the Christian churches of Tennessee "mothered" by Post Oak. In fact, only a few, such as the Rockwood Church, have been directly influenced by this old congregation. Indeed, there have been many "beginnings" of Christian churches in Tennessee.

In point of time after Post Oak Springs the next "beginning" was in Boone's Creek Valley of Washington County. James Miller,

whose preaching resulted in the founding of a Christian church at Boone's Creek Valley, seems to have been ordained by Barton W. Stone, though exactly when or where we do not know because the records are fragmentary.[19]

The known facts about the early life of James Miller are meager indeed. He was received into the Sinking Creek Baptist Church of Carter County, Tennessee, on October 16, 1824, "by experience," and upon his request was granted a letter of dismissal, April 16, 1825.[20] In 1826 he performed marriage ceremonies in Carter County and signed the certificates M. G. (minister of the Gospel).[21] Since a search of the Baptist records of East Tennessee gave no evidence that James Miller ever preached for the Baptist Church,[22] it seems clear that his first preaching was done for the Christian Church after ordination by Stone.

Shortly after James Miller left the Baptist Church, he held a revival meeting in Boone's Creek Valley, Washington County, a revival which had far-reaching consequences. Of that meeting and the preacher, Colonel E. C. Reeves has written the following:

> Once there lived a man in this country whom I knew three-quarters of a century ago. . . .He hailed from Maine. . . .He was a minister of the gospel in the Christian Church. Of heroic size, with a benevolent face and a dignity in his bearing, he was a commanding figure in any assemblage of people. The Rev. James Miller was a ripe scholar, a fluent speaker and withal a real logician. At first he was a school-teacher during the week and a pulpiteer on the Lord's day. However, soon he devoted his entire time to his holy calling, leaving the management of his extensive farm to his practical wife. Ere long he conducted a remarkable religious revival on Boone's Creek in this county, which in its scope and sweep, was a wonder in that day, for in that community nearly every soul was gathered into the Christian Church; and through the generations following to the present the Christian Church dominates all other churches in that community. The Boone's Creek Brick Church was the out-growth of that eventful religious awakening, and was longer and more widely known, than probably any other in a large section of our country. From it have gone out men and influences which have

[19]"Some years prior to brother Campbell's separation from the Baptists brother Miller, who had been ordained by Barton W. Stone with brethern Shaklin and Lane commenced to preach in upper East Tennessee, and contending that party names tended only to divide the people of God . . . ." Biographical Sketch of John Wright, prepared in 1876 (MS. in the possession of Mrs. Mary Hardin McCown of Johnson City, Tennessee). The separation from the Baptists mentioned in the above quotation took place in 1830. *Millenial Harbinger,* I (September, 1830), 414-415.

[20]Sinking Creek Church Records (copy in the Archives of the Baptist Society of Historical Research, Johnson City, Tennessee), 85, 88.

[21]Mary Hardin McCown, "James Miller," in J. W. West (ed.), *Sketches of Our Mountain Pioneers* (Salem, Va., 1939), 47.

[22]Minutes of the Holston Baptist Association, 1825-1828 (complete set in the Archives of the Baptist Society of Historical Research, Johnson City, Tennessee). The early minutes are in longhand and unpaged; later ones are printed.

proved the primal human cause of the development of the Christian Church into the commanding position it occupies in our section of the country.[23]

From the facts on record the date of that revival can be put as the summer of 1826. As noted above, Miller left the Sinking Creek Baptist Church in 1825 and was preaching in 1826. Under date of October 18, 1826, in the Sinking Creek Baptist Church Records, there appears the following interesting statement:

> We also declare against Molly Humphries for joining Miller's church . . . .We unanimously agree not to invite any of the people call'd Arians Socinian Unitarian or Sysmatics or that will not wright [*sic*] their creed to preach in our meeting house.[24]

It is acknowledged by all historians of East Tennessee churches that Miller's meeting divided the Buffalo Ridge Baptist Church. In 1827 the Holston Baptist Association appointed a committee to go to Buffalo Ridge Baptist Church to reconcile their differences.[25] The following year the committee reported to the Association that they found Buffalo Ridge a "divided people in principle and practice." Two parties of the Church reported to the Association in 1828, and the Association recognized the party "who adhere to advise [*sic*] of the Association."[26]

The conclusion that James Miller held his historic meeting in the summer of 1826 is inescapable in the light of the above facts. However, it would not be wise to conclude that James Miller had formally organized a congregation as early as October, 1826. Formal organization was often delayed for months after a successful revival in the early days.

The effect of Miller's work on Tennessee's first Baptist church, Buffalo Ridge, is of interest and has been noted by Baptist historians. J. J. Burnett states that the Buffalo Ridge Church was reduced from three hundred and fifty members to fourteen by the "Arian heresey [*sic*] as taught by Barton Stone and Alexander Campbell (both of whom denied the deity of Christ)."[27] Dr. S. W. Tindell, however, points out that some of the loss of membership at Buffalo Ridge can be accounted for by the formation of five new Baptist churches between 1818 and 1828.[28] This is no doubt true, but such a large loss is

[23]From an address prepared and read by Col. E. C. Reeves of Muncey Memorial Methodist Episcopal Church, Johnson City, Tennessee, at a memorial service in First Christian Church, Johnson City, Tennessee, January 28, 1923. Copy in possession of Mrs. Mary H. McCown.

[24]Sinking Creek Baptist Church Records, 94.

[25]Minutes of Holston Baptist Association, 1827.

[26]*Ibid.*, 1828.

[27]J. J. Burnett, *Sketches of Tennessee's Pioneer Preachers* (Nashville, 1919), 537. Burnett's parenthetical statement is wholly false.

[28]Samuel W. Tindell, *The Baptist of Tennessee* (Kingsport, 1930), I, 35.

not adequately accounted for by new churches not in the immediate neighborhood of old Buffalo Ridge. The fact remains that the doctrines preached by Miller took a heavy toll from Buffalo Ridge Baptist Church as well as from Sinking Creek Baptist Church. In 1827 Buffalo Ridge reported 110 members to the Association, as against 183 in 1825. In 1828 the party accepted as the church by the Association reported only twenty-three members.[29] It seems clear that the majority of the first members of Boone's Creek Christian Church, which resulted from Miller's revival, were from the old Buffalo Ridge Baptist Church.

Closely associated with Boone's Creek Church in origin and fellowship was Buffalo Creek Church, located on what is now the campus of Milligan College, Carter County, Tennessee. The date of 1828 has been assigned for the organization of Buffalo Creek Church, but the source of the information is not given.[30] However, certain corroborative evidence makes the date highly probable. It is fairly well established that many of the first members of Buffalo Creek Church came out of the Sinking Creek Baptist Church, which is located only two or three miles from Milligan College. The disturbance in Sinking Creek Church over the teaching of the Reformers was in evidence as early as 1824 and led to two rival groups in 1826.[31] The Holston Baptist Association appointed a committee to investigate Sinking Creek Church in 1826, and received its report of a "divided people in principle and in practice" in 1827.[32] In the light of this division of Sinking Creek Church in 1827, it is highly probable that Buffalo Creek Christian Church was organized as early as 1828.

The best available information would indicate that James Miller was also responsible for the founding of Buffalo Creek Church. In 1876 Samuel E. Millard and T. J. Wright wrote concerning John Wright:

> On the 24th day of June 1832, five months after the union at Lexington he united with the congregation that brother Miller and others had organized at Buffalo Creek, Carter Co. Tenn, and was the same day ordained by Elders James Miller and David Duncan.[33]

The Boone's Creek Church and the Buffalo Creek Church seem to have been the center of a cooperative work almost as soon as they were organized. The first historic notice of this cooperative fellowship shows that it met at Boone's Creek meeting house, Aug-

[29]Holston Baptist Association Minutes, 1825, 1827, 1828.
[30]John T. Brown (ed.), *Churches of Christ* (Louisville, 1904), 281.
[31]Sinking Creek Baptist Chuurch Records, 85, 86, 94.
[32]Holston Baptist Association Minutes, 1827.
[33]Biographical Sketch of John Wright.

ust 17, 1829. No list of the churches cooperating is given, but the number of members composing the churches of the section is given as 472.[34] Some Virginia churches were included, and the 1830 meeting place was set at North Fork Church, Washington County, Virginia. In 1832 the meeting was held at Buffalo Creek Church.[35] By 1834 it was spoken of as the "Regular Annuel [*sic*] *Meeting.*"[36] In 1841 this organization was employing an evangelist.[37] It may have done so previously. Under the evangelistic program of this annual meeting, which has continued through the years, the Christian churches developed rapidly in the extreme eastern counties of Tennessee. In the other counties of East Tennessee their growth has not been so conspicuous. However, there are now in the section one hundred congregations with a combined membership of approximately twenty thousand.[38] In addition to this purely local work, two educational institutions of the Christian Church exist in East Tennessee. They are Johnson Bible College in Knox County and Milligan College in Carter County. Through these the influence of the Christian Church of East Tennessee has been extended far beyond the geographical boundaries of the area.

[34]News item, *Christian Messenger,* IV (August, 1830), 216.
[35]*Ibid.,* VI (October, 1832), 298.
[36]Boone's Creek Church Records. These manuscript records are in possession of Miss Mary Keefauver, Jonesboro, Tennessee.
[37]News item, *Millennial Harbinger,* V (December, 1841), 590.
[38]*Year Book of Disciples of Christ,* 1944 (Indianapolis, 1944), 519-526.

EAST TENNESSEE SENTIMENT AND THE SECESSION MOVEMENT, NOVEMBER, 1860 – JUNE, 1861

By VERTON M. QUEENER

Throughout the presidential campaign of 1860, Tennesseans like all other southerners hoped that a way would be found to avoid secession, or that Lincoln would not be elected, for according to contemporary political oratory, his election was the only eventuality that would force disunion. When the news arrived that Lincoln was elected all hopes and doubts were dispelled, and Tennesseans, again like all southerners, stood overawed and dumbfounded. Nonetheless, they were not yet ready to secede from the Union.[1] Many southern leaders throughout the campaign had foreseen the outcome and had warned the voters time and again that it was a "waste of labor to fight Republicanism, or its representative, Abraham Lincoln." Voters were told that there should be but one opinion in regard to the Republican party; namely, that it was "sectional, aggressive upon the South, founded upon an idea [the abolition of slavery] to resist the triumph of which every Southern man should be willing to sacrifice all other political issues and make common cause against a common enemy."[2]

Though warned many times, and knowing with an inexpressible fear that the warnings were true, Tennesseans and southerners generally could not sacrifice "all issues" and unite against a common political enemy because the Republican party was not to them the only enemy. The Democratic party was hopelessly divided, largely over the issue of slavery, which had brought the Republican party into being.[3] There were in the Democratic party some secessionists, but a large majority of Democrats were not secessionists. Several days after the election in 1860, one writer claimed that the "Union party of the South embraces substantially the whole people." The writer meant to include in the Union party not only those who had voted for John Bell and Edward Everett, but all men who hoped that

[1]James G. De Roulhac Hamilton, *Party Politics in North Carolina*, 1835-1860 (University of North Carolina, *James Sprunt Historical Publications*, XV, Chapel Hill, 1915), 199. While Hamilton was discussing North Carolina politics, the same feelings seemed to be reflected by the Memphis and Nashville newspapers, 1860-61, whatever the shade of political opinion held by the paper.

[2]Nashville *Republican Banner* (hereafter referred to as *Banner*, which was its commonly accepted name), August 30, 1860.

[3]*Brownlow's Knoxville Whig* (hereafter referred to as *Whig*), September 22, 1860, a letter written by Wm. H. Sneed to the *Whig*, which was campaigning bitterly against William L. Yancey because he stood for secession.

southern rights could be preserved under the general government. To most people there was still a "possibility of readjusting" sectional differences; hence, the necessity of separation and the immediate threat of war was not clear to all. A minority realized that sectional differences could not be adjusted, and they were secessionists — secessionists not by choice but only because separation was the last recourse, the only alternative being "abject surrender,"[4] as they reasoned sadly.

In this study the writer proposes to examine briefly the change in sentiment which occurred in the three sections of Tennessee from the time of the November election until Tennessee voted to leave the union, and then, if possible, to find reasons why one section of the state voted in an overwhelmingly different manner from the other two sections. In the survey of the state, West Tennessee is considered first, for there the change in sentiment began and moved eastward.

Around election time in 1860 many West Tennesseans were trying to hold untenable grounds by opposing both separation and federal coercion. The position predominantly held among Democrats of West Tennessee was shown by editorial comment in two Memphis newspapers. The *Appeal*, a paper supporting Douglas, in answer to Douglas, himself, who had just committed himself to coercion in a speech at Norfolk, Virginia, a day or two before, said:

> If any State should differ with us in the election of Lincoln . . . and should by the legitimate and sovereign voice of her people declare her independence and retire from the Union, we would not assist in coercing her. But so long as she remains . . . as one of the United States, we think its laws ought to be enforced.[5]

The Memphis *Morning Bulletin* said:

> We maintain that the general government under the misrule of *loco foco* administrations, which have allowed the hypocrites and rascals of the Northern States to defy its power with impunity in the matter of the Fugitive Slave Law, has forfeited its right to "coerce" South Carolina or any other Southern State that shall show an equal act of insubordination.

The argument continued that

> the Federal Government must first take with ball, cartridge, and grapeshot, the beam out of the eye of Massachussetts, Vermont, etc., before it can perform, with our consent, the operation of removing the mote from the eye of

[4]Memphis *Daily Enquirer*, November 24, 1860; *Memphis Avalanche*, October 8, 1860. The *Enquirer* was supporting Bell and the Union while the *Avalanche* was supporting Breckinridge and secession if necessary.

[5]Memphis *Appeal*, October 9, 1860. The *Appeal* supported Douglas and the Union.

Southern States. If he [Andrew Johnson] had previously done this . . . then we should be with Andy in his notions of "coercing".[6]

The two papers stated more correctly than they knew the whole situation as to feeling both before and after the 1860 election.

The story of how sentiment changed in West Tennesse is told by the votes in three elections. In the November, 1860, presidential election, West Tennessee voted 18,384 for Bell, 7,548 for Douglas, and 11,697 for Breckinridge.[7] This election was in no sense a clear test of secession sentiment. While the advocates of secession in the South urged the election of Breckinridge, they argue that his election would not promote secession, but rather prevent it. The slogan used by Breckinridge writers and campaign speakers was a statement quoted from Breckinridge saying, "Instead of breaking up the Union, we intend to strengthen and lengthen it." Hence, the presidential election, at least in Tennessee, was almost no measure of secession sentiment in the state. The large combined vote for Bell and Douglas simply indicated that many West Tennesseans were politically in 1860 as they had long been, namely Conservatives, and that the section was not as yet greatly interested in the extreme southern program. In the February election, when the issue was whether Tennessee should call a convention to consider her relationship to the federal union, West Tennessee in this first test on the secession issue voted for a convention by 22,623 to 7,864, while the rest of the state voted against a convention. This election, like the presidential election of the previous November, was not clear-cut on the issue of separation or union. Some claimed it meant very little in the state as a whole because the time had been too short for the campaign, and therefore the people were not informed on the real issues or aroused to their dangers. But some 23,000 West Tennesseans who voted for a convention were aroused and were at least willing to consider separation as early as February, 1861; while only about 8,000 were definitely opposed to separation and voted against a convention. Thus West Tennesseans at the first opportunity made clear their overwhelming sentiment for separation and against coercion of the southern states. When the June election was held four months later, the issue was single and clear-cut and West Tennesseans voted for separation 27,432 to 9,581.[8]

[6]Memphis *Morning Bulletin,* December 23, 1860. This paper supported Bell and the Union.

[7]Marquerite B. Hamer, "The Presidential Campaign of 1860 in Tennessee," East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications,* No. 3 (Knoxville, 1931), 13-22; Nashville *Banner,* November 27, 1860.

[8]Memphis *Morning Bulletin,* February 1, 12, 1861; Memphis *Daily Enquirer,* February 12, 1861; John Hallam, *The Diary of an Old Lawyer* (Nashville, 1895), 156-58; Mary R. Campbell, "Unionist Victory in the Election of February 9, 1861," East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications,* No. 14 (1942), 24; M. R. Gibbs to Andrew Johnson, February 1, 1861, Johnson MSS. (Library of Congress); *Whig,* July 13, 1864; Nashville *Banner,* February 22, 1861.

Middle Tennessee went through the same sort of a transformation as did West Tennessee and to an even greater degree. In the summer of 1860 the people in and round Nashville, citizens typical of all Middle Tennessee, agreed on opposition to secession but their agreement went no futher. A large faction of voters was in the Bell and Everett group, as was the strongest newspaper, the Nashville *Republican Banner*. In the November election Bell received 29,006 votes; Breckinridge, 34,452; and Douglas, 2,187. The majority for Breckinridge did not mean that a majority favored secession, for on February 9 Middle Tennessee voted against a convention and the consideration of secession by 28,290 to 27,330. The *Banner* sensed the situation when it said the results of the election were due to the people's distrust of any convention because of what had happened in other states.[9] The people could not trust any delegates they might elect; in fact, they could not trust themselves. The *Union and American*, now thoroughly unpopular because it had urged that separation was the only solution, cried out at the results of the February election, "May God in his mercy protect a deceived and betrayed people."[10]

By May 17 the growing sentiment for secession in Middle Tennessee had progressed to such a point that the editors of the five Nashville newspapers, heretofore often bitter rivals and always advocating diverse policies, joined forces to "recommend most earnestly that the people of Tennessee on the 8th of June, at the ballot-box, unite as one man and give their unanimous endorsement to the action of our Legislature declaring our noble state independent forever of the United States Government." They added a note of triumph, "Unionism is dead in Tennessee."[11] On June 8, 1861, Middle Tennesse voted 58,265 for separation to 8,198 against[12]—not unanimous, as the editors had hoped, but by a large enough margin to show that the section had changed from pro-Union to a strong resistance group. The choice had been clear, but not easy. Middle Tennesseans were for the Union and did not want secession, but they were opposed to coercion by force and would resist coercion with property and life. As the *Union and American* had put it in November, 1860, "Ten-

[9]Nashville *Banner*, November 27, 1860, February 13, 22, 1861; Mary R. Campbell, "Unionist Victory," *loc. cit.*, 26. Southerners who realized that there was no solution to the sectional rivalry short of secession unless the southern program could be carried out voted for Breckinridge on the basis that his election would "strengthen and lengthen" the Union. People were afraid of a convention because in some southern states a convention had taken the state out of the Union without the people's having a chance to ratify or reject the work of the convention.

[10]Nashville *Union and American*, February 12, 1861.

[11]Nashville *Banner*. April 28, May 10, 17, 1861. The *Banner* carried a letter signed by Neill S. Brown, Cave Johnson, Return J. Meigs, E. H. Ewing, John Bell, and Bailie Peyton, all prominent Unionists, saying that coercion of southern states must be resisted at all costs.

[12]*Whig*, July 13, 1861.

nessee does not propose to secede, but she will not permit force to be used against any Southern state that may see proper to withdraw from the Union."[13] Could the war have been avoided and the Union saved if coercion had not been resorted to so hastily?

As the flood tide of secession sentiment moved eastward and into East Tennessee, some individuals in this area changed position; but the change to secession sentiment, or separation as it was called, never reached overwhelming proportions as in other parts of the state. In the summer of 1860 "Parson" William G. Brownlow, the chief spokesman for East Tennessee, urged with all his power the election of Bell and Everett and charged over and over that men from South Carolina and Mississippi broke up the Charleston Democratic convention because they wanted to break up the Union. The feelings of East Tennesseeans generally were expressed by S. R. Rodgers, who in a long and able speech said, "We are for staying where we are, in the Union," for "holding plum still."[14]

Most East Tennesseans during the campaign of 1860 and later were for "holding plum still" on any question about separation from the Union. In the presidential election Bell carried this section of the state by a 3,416 majority.[15] It must always be remembered that all three candidates in 1860 were running on what to them was a "save the Union" platform. After the election in November, 1860, East Tennessee leaders seemed to intensify their pro-Union campaign, but their chief spokesman, Brownlow, who had worked with all his might throughout the campaign for Bell and Everett, confused the issues because he was still strongly opposed to Abraham Lincoln. Brownlow began a reasoned campaign to prevent East Tennessee from joining the rest of the South in the slavery struggle. In several long, well-reasoned and well-written editorials, the *Whig* urged "conservative and reasonable men of the South to consider" before they decided "that the election of Lincoln was sufficient grounds for leaving the Union."[16] Over and over, Brownlow pledged that "if the President and the Congress and the Supreme Court . . . sanction any such iniquitous measures [meaning coercion or subjugation] and unite in attempts to carry them out, I advocate resistance at all hazards, and to the last extremity, and I would then join the South in a

[13]Nashville *Banner,* November 17, 1860, quoting *Union and American.* The *Banner* at this time did not subscribe to this idea, quoting Jackson's nullification proclamation of 1832 in reply. By April the *Banner,* too, was of the same opinion as its opponent, the *Union and American.* Nashville *Banner,* April 18, 1861.

[14]*Whig,* September 1, 1860; E. Merton Coulter, *William G. Browlow* (Chapel Hill, 1937), 130; O. P. Temple, *East Tennessee and the Civil War* (Cincinnati, 1899) 156; C. W. Chastleton to Andrew Johnson, January 2, 1861, expressed the conviction that disunion feeling was gaining ground very rapidly in the state. Johnson MSS. See also Chastleton to Johnson, December 19, 1860, *ibid.*

[15]Nashville *Banner,* November 27, 1860.

[16]*Whig,* November 24, 1860, and ff.

war of extermination!" In the main, however, his paper was filled with political denunciations, personal trivia, Jew-baiting, and anti-Negro stories.[17]

On the 19th day of January, 1861, the *Whig* carried an editorial notification of the election to be held on February 9, "three weeks off." The editor predicted that "not a disunionist would be elected from East Tennessee." He appealed for nominees of known Union sentiments and for all to vote so that "none but Union men" would be elected and so that no convention would be held. "We have no parties, but Union men and disunionists." He would let no candidate "dodge the issue. All must speak out. We must turn out and fight for our firesides and homes against an army of rebels," he said.[18]

The following week there appeared in small print a long article by Judge W. H. Sneed announcing his candidacy to the proposed convention from Knox County. In his announcement he claimed that the Union was already broken and that the only question before the people was whether they should decide to go with the North or the South. He was firmly for the South and would do all in his power to take the state out of the Union.[19] After this one announcement, his campaign meetings and his speeches were never publicized by the *Whig*.

The general feeling of the people and the intensified Union campaign resulted in the overwhelming election of Union delegates and a large majority vote cast in East Tennessee against a convention. The February vote against the convention was 33,666 to 7,551.[20] When the June election was held four months later, East Tennessee voted to stay with the Union by 32,923 to 14,780 votes. The number of votes for separation in this election was roughly double the number cast in February for a convention, and the number of votes for the Union in June was 743 short of the no-convention votes in February.[21] East Tennessee, unlike the other two sections of the state, still had an overwhelming majority for the Union.

The outcome of this state election of June 8, 1861, has caused widespread comment; much explanation and many reasons have

[17] *Ibid.*, January 5, 12, 19, 1861.
[18] *Ibid.*, January 19, 26, 1860.
[19] *Ibid.*, February 2, 1861.
[20] Nashville *Banner*, February 22, 1861; Mary R. Campbell, "Unionist Victory," *loc. cit.*, 26, gives the vote for the convention as 33,294 to 7,772; V. M. Queener, "Origin of the Republican Party in East Tennessee," East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications*, No. 13 (1941), 66-90. When the February returns were known in New York, the *Tribune* of that city commented under the heading, "Pro-Slavery Rebellion—Election in Tennessee," that the election in Tennessee put the secessionists to rout and that other sections would do likewise in the rest of the South if "Republicans would stand firm and give them some time." Nashville *Union and American*, February 20, 1861.
[21] Queener, "Origin of the Republican Party," *loc. cit.*, 73-75; *Whig*, July 13, 1861.

been given as to why East Tennessee voted differently from the rest of the state. Some writers have looked for one reason; others for many. Some of the reasons given include: the influence of the Tennessee River and the need for its improvement into a highway of commerce; the influence of leaders, though no explanation is given as to why the leaders decided to stay with the Union; the influence of the soil and crops produced on that soil. By some the persistent pro-Union sentiment has been attributed to the absence of slavery on any considerable scale, to the source of immigration, or the patriotism of the people and their great love for the Union. No one reason, nor in fact can a combination of any two or three reasons be found which will satisfy the curious as to why East Tennessee voted differently on this issue of separation. There are many reasons. Some are general and complicated, others are particular, definite and simple, but probably no one of the reasons applied to all East Tennessee Unionists at any given time. One more attempt to answer the question may not be amiss.

In the first place, East Tennessee had frequently voted differently from the dominating middle section of the state after 1836. There was a political cleavage which existed long before 1861 and which persists to this day. This political cleavage began back in the 1820's for "By 1827 the Tennessee attitude had taken on a distinctly sectional aspect." At the beginning, the middle and western sections seemingly pulled away from East Tennessee, for "there was a rapidly growing realization" in the middle and western sections that "a strict construction viewpoint was necessary as a defense against the threatening abolitionist designs of certain elements in the North."[22] While this feeling was developing west of the Cumberland Mountains, East Tennesseans were boasting the first abolition newspaper and organizing manumission societies. Tennessee's "three divisions, . . . characterized by essentially different economic interests, have developed as separate entities . . . ." For example, only six of the twenty-nine counties in East Tennessee produced as many as 100 bales of cotton in 1860, while in Middle Tennessee eighteen of the thirty-five counties produced more than 100 bales.[23] The facilities for earning a livelihood and accumulating wealth were different, which gave the people of the eastern end of the state a different attitude toward slavery and other political issues.

Secondly, the movement for separation was a tide of sentiment which swept over the state from west to east and reached East Ten-

[22]Stanley J. Folmsbee, *Sectionalism and Internal Improvements in Tennessee* (Knoxville, 1939), 54-55.

[23]*Ibid.*, 5; United States Census Office, Eighth Census, *Agriculture of the United States in* 1860 (Washington, 1864), 132 43, 136-37, 238-39.

nessee only after the section had already decided to stay with the Union. This tide of feeling, which had been accumulating for years, swept over the South between the time when the two major parties held their conventions in 1860 and the call for volunteers by President Lincoln after the fall of Fort Sumter. The tidal wave of secession sentiment had its beginning in South Carolina and Mississippi, but it reached East Tennessee, not from the east or south, but from the west. It moved from Mississippi into West Tennessee, then to Middle Tennessee, where with minor exceptions all were convinced that separation was the only recourse. It rolled on toward the eastern end of the state, over the hundred miles of poverty-stricken sandstone soil and rocks of the Cumberland Plateau and reached the valley as the June vote was being taken. This was too late for East Tennessee to be engulfed. The die had been cast by the comparatively poor, isolated, relatively uninformed, and extremely conservative mountain men of East Tennessee, men who had been harangued, cajoled, and persuaded that war would not come to them if they stood "plum still." The tide of secession sentiment was felt in East Tennessee and the people were changing as the weeks and months passed but not as rapidly as they had changed in the other sections. People of the section continued to change from the Union side to the Confederate side all during the war and to the Democratic party during the reconstruction. Especially was the change noticeable at the time of Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation and again after Johnson, East Tennessee's most prominent leader, had become president and had broken with the Radicals in Congress, who were at the time calling the tune by which the dominating group in East Tennessee was dancing.[24] But the tide of feeling for secession, which later changed to an alignment with Conservative Unionism and finally with the Democratic party, never changed a majority of East Tennesseans, who were pro-Union during the war, "Radicals" during reconstruction and Republicans thereafter.

The East Tennessee attitude toward the institution of slavery was a third reason why they voted differently from their neighbors. The attitude was one of disapproval of slavery plus a fear of economic competition and possibly physical harm from the Negroes. Some writers have indicated that the Civil War was not over slavery but rather a struggle to save the Union. People in Tennessee of that day did not have the advantage of historical hindsight to assign reasons; they thought the issue was slavery—the designation of property in man. When the Nashville *Banner* said that the question of

[24]O. P. Temple, *Notable Men of Tennessee* (New York, 1912), 44-46.

abolition was not immediately upon the South, the *Union and American* of the same city retaliated by saying:

> If the question of abolition of slavery is not now upon us, what is it that agitates the country . . . ? What . . . has already driven seven states out of the Union? What . . . induced meetings . . . to request the Governor to convene the Legislature . . . ? What . . . gave Abraham Lincoln the overwhelming vote of Northern States . . . ? What . . . has brought the free and slave states to the verge of civil war? What but the statement of the President-elect that people will not be content until slavery is on the way out?[25]

This newspaper thought the trouble was slavery.

East Tennesseans saw the whole conflict as being over slavery. O. P. Temple wrote, "The overpowering influence of slavery, the fear of falling under the condemnation of the mighty oligarchy of slaveholders, to some extent had paralyzed the minds of men" in East Tennessee. There was, however, "constantly presented . . . the dark picture of the horrible desolation to be wrought in the South by Abolition rule."[26]

The whole period of threatening war was a time of bewilderment for East Tennesseans and brought out their fundamental attitude toward slavery. Brownlow approached the feelings held by a majority in an article urging East Tennessee to secede from the rest of the state, saying, "We have no interests in common with the cottton states. We are a grain-growing and stock-raising people, and we can conduct a cheap government and live independently inhabiting the Switzerland of America."[27] He might have gone ahead to point out that East Tennessee was the original home of the first abolitionist newspaper in America, that the people had been foremost in forming and promoting manumission societies long before 1860. He could have pointed to Ezekial Birdseye, who wrote from Newport, Tennessee, in 1841, to Gerrit Smith, saying, "Mr. Patterson the President of the Manumission Society of that part of Jefferson County . . . stated that the Society had over 600 members," but that meetings were not open "owing to the oppressive laws of the State." A few months later he again wrote to Smith: "Few own slaves [in East Tennessee] and as a general Rule they are not slaveholders from principle; but either hold them by decent [*sic*] or have purchased to save them from a worse fate. Many have done so who believed they were doing an act of humanity."[28]

[25]Nashville *Union and American*, March 2, 1861.
[26]Temple, *Notable Men of Tennesse*, 34-35.
[27]*Whig*, January 26, 1861.
[28]Ezekial Birdseye to Gerrit Smith, January 25, November 27, 1841, W. F. Galpin (ed.), "Letters of an East Tennessee Abolitionist," East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications*, No. 3 (1931), 137, 148.

East Tennesseans did not like the state laws which provided that county courts could make no more manumissions without security that the freed Negroes would be removed from the state. Nor did they approve the laws prohibiting free Negroes from moving into the state. People in this end of the state would have provided "far more emancipations if the process had been easier and if the masters had not feared that the freed Negroes would be victimized." These people in the main disliked the institution of slavery and felt that if new expenses or physical risks were to be borne because of slavery, they ought to be borne by slave holders and not by East Tennesseans who claimed to have no interest in that type of property.[29]

Mountain whites, while disliking slavery in an abstract sort of way and thoroughly disliking the Negro, still were not out and out abolitionists. They did not despise slavery *per se*, but they did despise the idea of bringing slave labor into competition with their own.[30] East Tennesseeans were working people and to free the Negroes and not dispose of them would be worse in their way of thinking than the continuation of slavery. They had the typical northern attitude toward Negroes, that is, the individual Negro is to be shunned and avoided, but the race is greatly mistreated. While most southern people do not like the Negro race, they do like the individual Negro. East Tennesseans, because of soil and climate, realized they were not destined to become planters or large slaveholders. They found comparatively "small markets in the slavery sections because of transportation difficulties"; therefore "Slavery played no basic part in the economic life of the Southern Highlanders," nor were slaves present in sufficient numbers to offer labor competition, but these mountain people feared free Negroes. "If you liberated the Negro, what will be the next step? What will we do with two million Negroes in our midst? Blood, rape and rapine will be our portion. You can't get rid of the Negro except by holding him in slavery." So spoke Andrew Johnson, the great advocate of Negro freedom and coercion of the southern states. Brownlow revealed much the same spirit when he wrote an editorial entitled "Clinging to the Negro" in which he claimed that southern states, "even the Old Dominion," were "enlisting and drilling free Negroes." Brownlow said, "We abhor Negroes and Whites mingling

[29]J. Merton England, *The Free Negro in Ante-Bellum Tennessee* (Nashville, 1937), 44-45; Memphis *Morning Bulletin*, February 12, 1861.
[30]Oliver Taylor, *Historic Sullivan* (Bristol, 1909), 277.

in a White man's war. We doubt . . . the policy of learning [*sic*] Negroes military tactics."[31]

East Tennesseans not only had a long-standing attitude against slavery, they owned very few slaves and seemingly few owners had much enthusiasm for the institution. In the year 1860 East Tennessee had a total of 27,574 slaves, compared with Middle Tennessee's 147,177 and West Tennessee's 100,983. Only two counties in East Tennessee had more than 2,000 slaves and ten others had more than 1,000 each. In Middle Tennessee five counties had more than 10,000 and twenty-two others had more than 1,000, while only eight, Cumberland Plateau counties, had fewer than 1,000.[32] Many of the comparatively few individual slaveowners in East Tennessee were convinced that slave-owning was neither right morally nor profitable as a business. In eleven of the twenty-nine counties composing East Tennessee fewer than two percent of the free whites owned slaves; in four of the eleven, less than one percent; and in sixteen of the remaining eighteen counties, less than three percent. In only two counties did as many as four percent of the free white population own slaves. The votes cast for separation in June, 1861, seem to show a lack of enthusiasm for slavery on the part of the owners. In five counties only one vote or less per slaveholder was cast for separation, and in eleven counties only two votes per slaveholder; five counties cast four, and two counties, Sullivan and Polk, where very few slaves were owned, cast five or more per slaveholder.[33]

It should be remembered that East Tennessee spokesmen, especially Brownlow, had urged repeatedly and on every occasion that the northern states and the federal government meant to make no attack on slavery nor to interfere with it in any way. "Be not decieved," he had shouted, "No peaceable citizen will be molested. Neither will slavery be disturbed." It may be that some few slaveholders in East Tennessee believed this, although there is no evidence to indicate such naiveté. Also, the two counties voting heaviest for separation were remote from Knoxville, the home of the *Whig*. When the time came to fight, men such as C. W. Hall, who had always held to the Democratic party, a slaveholder, and the son of a slaveholder, stayed

[31]Coulter, *Brownlow*, 84-109; *Whig*, May 25, 1861. Brownlow said, "It is creditable to the Governors of Pennsylvania and Ohio, that they have refused to countenance the enlistment of free Negroes . . . as Southern men are doing." Johnson favored the use of Negroes in northern forces throughout the war. In 1863 he sent Lincoln a clipping from the Nashville *Union* advocating the payment of 300 dollars in addition to the existing bounty to loyal masters consenting to their slaves' entering the service of the United States. These slaves were to be substitutes for white men. Andrew Johnson to Abraham Lincoln, September 23, 1863, Lincoln Papers (Library of Congress).

[32]Eighth Census, *Population of the United States in* 1860 (Washington, 1864), 132-33, 238-39. Four counties have been organized since the Civil War.

[33]*Ibid.*; Queener, "Origin of the Republican Party," *loc cit.*, 73.

with the Union after having previously campaigned for Douglas. He maintained that he "could not believe the whole people of any State would be induced to fight for the preservation and perpetutation of an institution [slavery] so repugnant to American ideas of liberty,"[34] His lack of enthusiasm for slavery as an institution was felt by many other East Tennesseans.

Another reason why East Tennessee voted differently lay in the wealth of the section, or rather the lack of it. David Deaderick, back in 1826, had lamented, "Our soil is poor in comparison with what is now called Middle Tennessee or in comparison with the Western District, and we have it not within our reach, as a people, to become rich."[35] The average wealth per family in 1860 in East Tennessee was only $2,830 while in the state as a whole it was $5,530. In Middle Tennessee the average wealth per family was $6,640 and in West Tennessee it was $7,130. The wealth of East Tennessee families averaged less than half as much as families west of the valley. The five West Tennessee counties which voted against separation—Carroll, Decatur, Hardin, Henderson and Weakly—all were below the average level of wealth per family as compared with other counties of the western section. The families of these five counties averaged $3,500 in wealth, which placed them in an economic class comparable with their Unionist friends in East Tennessee.

The same holds true for the three Middle Tennessee counties which voted against separation—Fentress (admitted to membership in the Greeneville Convention as an East Tennessee county), Wayne, and Macon. In wealth per family, these counties claimed an average of $1,360, $2,950, and $2,600, respectively. They too compared favorably with the families of East Tennessee in the matter of worldly goods. Furthermore, of the six East Tennessee counties which voted for separation all but Sequatchie averaged more wealth per family than all families in the section averaged.[36] The apparent reason for this close correlation between the lack of wealth and the attitude toward separation is that in the poorer counties there were few slaveholders. These people had little property at stake if invasion should come and were without hope of becoming a part of the slave-owning aristocracy even on the lower levels; hence, they may have reasoned, why vote or fight to perpetuate a system

[34]*Whig*, May 25, 1861. Brownlow exploited any rumor favorable to the North, telling, for example, how the Union army had restored slaves to their owners in Maryland a few days before. [C. W. Hall], *Three Score Years and Ten* (Cincinnati, 1884), 113.

[35]Samuel C. Williams (ed.), "Journal of Events of David Anderson Deaderick," East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications*, No. 8 (1936), 130.

[36]Eighth Census, *Statistics of the United States in* 1860 (Washington, 1866), *passim.*

of which they were not a part, a system in which they were unwelcome and unwanted? As the biographer of Brownlow expressed it, they feared that "a Southern Republic would be dominated by leaders and interests foreign to the upper South."[37]

The East Tennessee Unionists, as was true of people everywhere with little wealth, feared heavy taxes and felt the virtue of being poor. It is necessary in evaluating the influence of wealth in the 1861 struggle to remember that the banks and the entire money economy were badly disrupted by the panic of 1857 and that the political crisis carried this disruption to its climax.[38] Brownlow in nearly every article and editorial campaigned against an imagined tax rate which would be imposed by the Confederate government saying, "Let Union men throughout the state, who are opposed to Secession and Ruinous Taxation, bear in mind that the election is Saturday, Eighth day of June and that they should vote." He would appeal to "every union man in Tennessee to be at the polls and cast his vote against a rate of taxation that will break up the people and bankrupt the state." He felt sure that "If Tennessee should on . . . June 8, vote herself out of the Union and into the Southern Confederacy," the people would be "hopelessly insolvent." Then, in the hope of scaring his readers, he threatened that "Tax commissioners from Montgomery will come around and collect from us the last dollar we can raise." When a letter from the state comptroller's office to the county court clerks arrived saying that "eight cents on the hundred dollars" had been added to the state property tax for the year 1861, Brownlow cried out, "This is but the beginning!—Egyptian bondage was slight in comparison with what we will. . .feel."[39] Concern was often expressed over the probable high rate of taxation, and many harbored a real fear that the Confederate government would be a government of "rich men."

East Tennesseans consoled themselves with the thought that even though poor, they were hard workers and morally better than people of other sections of the state who had more wealth. Because they could not own slaves, they felt that owning slaves was morally wrong. They could not have wealth; hence, wealth was a corrupting and degrading influence. "East Tennessee is a better place to live," they often asserted, better than "where there are temptations and opportunity to get wealth." In places where wealth may be accumulated "men are less apt to be virtuous and happy . . . . Most impartial persons will observe that we are more moral and religious and less absorbed in the business and cares of the world than the people of West

[37]Coulter, *Brownlow*, 136.
[38]P. M. Hamer, *Tennessee: A History*, 1673-1931 (New York, 1933), I, 530-31.
[39]*Whig*, February 23, June 1, May 11, 25, 1861.

Tennessee, or of any cotton country." Their spokesman argued that "where cotton is grown extensively, slaves are found in great numbers and where all the work, or nearly all, is performed by slaves — a consequent inaction and idleness are characteristic of the whites, — and . . . there is no surer way of vitiating a man, than to leave him with nothing to do."[40]

Some have explained East Tennessee's vote in 1861 as being attributable to the source of immigration from which the counties drew many early settlers. "We are a distinct and peculiar people, not to be confounded with other divisions of the state,"[41] boasted one proud mountaineer. The source of immigration into East Tennessee counties had no influence in determining the vote in 1861 as the brief tables below, made from a study of the 1860 census and the election returns of 1861, will reveal.[42]

Votes on Separation Compared with Origin of Population

East Tenn. counties voting for separation	Election returns, June 8, 1861		Citizens born in another state	
	Union	Separation	Free state	Slave state
Meigs	267	481	21	442
Monroe	774	1,096	93	1,300
Polk	317	738	407	2,924
Rhea	202	360	27	542
Sequatchie	voted with Marion		31	224
Sullivan	627	1,586	146	2,305

Typical East Tenn. counties voting to stay in the Union	Election returns June 8, 1861		Citizens born in another state	
	Union	Separation	Free state	Slave state
Blount	1,766	418	147	1,299
Bradley	1,382	507	56	1,241
Greene	2,691	744	333	2,622
Knox	3,196	1,226	1,304	1,750
McMinn	1,144	904	75	1,492
Scott	521	19	24	554
Sevier	1,539	60	72	1,094
Typical West Tenn. counties voting to stay in the Union	Election Returns, June 8, 1861		Citizens born in another state	
	Union	Separation	Free state	Slave state
Hardin	1,051	458	94	2,003
Weakley	1,201	1,189	336	2,625

Some influence was exerted by the immigrants in some counties. Knox County had 1,750 immigrants from slave states other than

[40]Williams, "David Anderson Deaderick," *loc. cit.*, 130.

[41]*Facts and Figures Concerning the Climate, Manufacturing Advantages and the Agricultural and Mineral Resources of East Tennessee* (Knoxville, 1869), 12. This is a pamphlet appealing for immigrants.

[42]Unpublished Schedules of the Eighth Census of the United States, 1860 (National Archives, Washington); *Whig*, June 29, 1861.

Tennessee and 1,304 who had been born in free states. Several of the latter, such as Horace Maynard, Conally F. Trigg, Hermann Bokum and others, were leaders in the vanguard of opposition to separation. The immigrants, however, did not have influence simply on the basis of numbers or in a direct ratio of the immigrants from slave or free states. In the West Tennessee counties which voted against separation an overwhelming number of the citizens who were born outside of Tennessee were born in other slave states. East Tennesseans early claimed to be from grain-growing states and were inclined toward industry rather than slave holding, but as Professor William O. Lynch has shown, most new sections of the United States were really formed by people who moved from the nearest states,[43] and the source of immigration for East Tennessee, whether early or immediately prior to the war, was from nearby states and had practically no influence on the stand taken by East Tennesseans in 1861.

An additional reason for East Tennessee's Unionist vote is to be found in the hatred which most Unionist leaders and a majority of East Tennessee old-line Whigs felt toward the Democratic party. This feeling was so strong that to work or vote with the Democratic party on any issue was practically impossible. The tendency in and around Knoxville, the "capital of East Tennessee," was to consider all Democrats disunionists. Before the Civil War, most of the counties in East Tennessee were predominantly Whig while that party was in existence. When the Whig party disappeared its East Tennessee leaders fought bitterly as Know Nothings and as the "opposition" party. This tightly knit and isolated section around Knoxville, the locale of East Tennessee Whiggery, was often outvoted and largely ignored by state Democratic administrations. Their political bitterness was not closely confined to the Democratic party; often the feelings seemed to carry over against the principle of democracy. It is doubtful if all writers and speakers distinguished between the two. Deaderick, a respected East Tennessee Unionist who gradually drifted toward the Confederacy, wrote in 1861:

> Our great nation is in a state of Civil War; brought on us by the legitimate workings of Democracy. . . . Almost all elections [are] given direct to the people, even those of judges . . . . The reverence for law and order thus, diminished: offices once intended to serve the people's interest, [are] now made bribes and gifts to political partizans; and *"State Rights,"* an original

[43]William O. Lynch, "The South and its History," *Journal of Southern History*, VIII (November, 1942), 432. See also his "Population Movements in Relation to the Struggle for Kansas," in *Studies in American History Inscribed to James Albert Woodburn* (Indiana University, *Studies in American History*, Nos. 66-68, Bloomington, 1926), 383-404.

democratic doctrine, has culminated into *"secession"*, resulting consequently in Civil War.[44]

Oliver P. Temple, a man better known and more influential in the Unionist camp, wrote to a friend in 1860, asking: "How could you suppose I had any thought of becoming a Democrat. . . . I am opposed to Democracy. I am not certain whether I hate or despise or fear it most. I am sometimes tempted to think it Antichrist . . . . I believe the time has come when we . . . must grapple with Democracy as our greatest foe . . . ." Temple then revealed his attitude toward the new Republican party by saying, "I should apprehend no danger from the temporary triumph of the Republican party. After the ranks of Democracy were broken, it would then be easy to organize a great conservative Whig Party."[45]

The hatred of the Democratic party, felt especially by East Tennessee leaders from the old-line Whigs, was further shown when Lincoln, trying to secure some cooperation and followers in Tennessee, permitted Andrew Johnson, a Democrat and as strong an advocate of the Union as could be found in North or South, to handle some of the patronage in Tennessee, the rest being handled by Emerson Etheridge, also a strong Unionist and an old-line Whig party man. Brownlow cried out against them, saying that they were "party hacks, working only to reestablish the Democratic party." He thought a scheme was afoot to use Union Democrats and old-line Whigs to revive the Democratic party and said, "All others may join them, but I, never! If the country can only be saved, or kept together by reconstructing that abomination, known as the great Democratic party, then let the whole sink to infamy and eternal perdition."[46]

Anything, even war, but not a reconstitution of the Democratic party, for Brownlow believed "it was the loss of offices, power and patronage of the government by the Democratic party" in the election of 1860 "that brought on the crisis." He was not exaggerating when long before the crisis he had said,

They may call me a Black Republican, an ally of the North, or what not; I am against the thieving party in power. And if the Opposition shall nominate THE DEVIL HIMSELF WITH HORNS AND TAIL ON, I will take

[44]Williams, "David Anderson Deaderick," *loc. cit.*, No. 9 (1937), 96. It seems only fair to point out that while Deaderick was writing about the principle of democracy, he at least part of the time was referring to the Democratic party. In a letter to Johnson (signature illegible) February 16, 1861, Johnson MSS., the writer alleges that "if any Democrat gets the appointment [postmastership in Knoxville] the office will still be under the control of the little group of infernal disunionists."

[45]Marguerite B. Hamer, "Presidential Campaign of 1860," *loc. cit.*, 18, quoting Temple to A. A. Doak, January 9, 1860.

[46]*Whig*, April 6, 13, 1861.

him as *a choice of evils,* against any one of the corrupt, insincere, and plundering leaders of this self-styled Democratic party.

On another occasion he said that if he had a "choice between joining the Southern camp and going to Hell," he'd think it over one week then "go to Hell."[47] Neither this man nor his followers could work or join hands with a party so avidly hated.

Another factor which influenced some voters in East Tennessee was a propaganda line which sometimes approached intimidation and coercion. East Tennessee Unionists reduced the size of the vote for separation by practicing methods and threats calculated to keep some who would have voted for separation from exercising their voting privilege. East Tennessee spokesmen claimed that force and violence were used to carry the state for secession. They did not explain why such alleged tactics were used in Middle and West Tennessee where they were not needed, but not used in East Tennessee where they were needed.[48] This charge should be examined.

As the days of decision approached, in February and again in June, meetings were held in various parts of the state for the purpose of creating and organizing sentiment for and against separation. As the June election drew near, stronger propaganda methods began to be used in East Tennessee. Brownlow permitted the three candidates who favored separation to announce their candidacy, but no other mention was made of them or their meetings, although many Union meetings were announced and seemingly minutes of all pro-Union meetings as well as their resolutions were published. Scare stories were carried in the *Whig* to arouse both fear and hatred of people in other sections of the state. "We hear it said," wrote the *Whig,*

that Governor Harris has taken charge of the magazine &c. at Nashville and that powder can only be had in that city by his authority. *Think of this free men of Tennessee.* The governor saying what you shall buy and what you shall not buy! Have Tennesseans become slaves? Tennessee, through God is still a member of the Federal Union, but alas! the people by degrees are having the worst despotism on earth rapidly fastened upon them.

A second story exclaimed, "Mob law reigns in Tennessee," and went on to say that the editor had been told to "come out for the South or our office will be mobbed." Brownlow wrote in detail in another column of a Union man from Sevier County who while on his way

[47] *Ibid,* May 18, 1861, August 13, 1859, April 20, 1861.

[48] James W. Patton, *Unionism and Reconstruction in Tennessee* (Chapel Hill, 1934), 20-21; James W. Fertig, *The Secession and Reconstruction of Tennessee* (Chicago, 1898), 17, 20. Humes and others follow East Tennessee sources hostile to Middle and West Tennessee and help to perpetuate charges made by East Tennesseeans seemingly without question. East Tennessee papers have throughout history charged that almost any election not won by the East Tennessee party was fraudently conducted.

to Illinois to get his widowed daughter and her several small children was arrested in Memphis for being a Union man. A rope was placed around his neck and he was "dragged through the street, threatened with being hanged every minute."[49] No reason was given to explain why a man from Sevier County would go by way of Memphis to get to Illinois. All such rumors and stories helped to fan the flames of hatred which burn too readily in East Tennessee.

When Middle and West Tennessee speakers came into the eastern end of the state, they were decidedly not welcomed by the Knoxville *Whig*, which announced that "comparatively few people will turn out to hear Foote, House, and Henry on their speaking tours." They are "gentlemen of manners and bearing, [but] East Tennesseans do not want to hear them." Derogatory stories were written against them, questioning their honesty and integrity, and hinting that violence might be used. In another issue, the *Whig* announced that "Gustavus A. Henry, Governor Henry S. Foote, and John F. House, all of Middle Tennessee are now canvassing East Tennessee . . . to convince the people that we should secede." Then the paper explained why heed should not be given to these misguided men, saying:

> As for Major Henry, he owns a cotton farm and a gang of Negroes down South. His interests are all in the Cotton Kingdom and it is a matter of personal interest with him to secede. Governor Foote has always opposed the wicked men of the South until secession, so we can have no confidence in him.

House's name was included with "White, Sole, Avery, and last but not least, . . . the Hon. John Bell," who were all in East Tennessee and proposed "to speak to the people favoring the military league . . . . The people of East Tennessee don't intend to hear any of these men. . . ." This was followed with some veiled suggestions of how "Middle Tennessee would not let Union men speak and East Tennessee people can take care of themselves."[50]

The Unionists seemingly kept close tab on how various people felt and how they would vote, and after the elections they published the names of voters who voted for separation. One Henry W. Humphreys wrote that "his name had been published as one who

[49] *Whig*, May 4, 1861.

[50] *Ibid.*, May 25, June 22, 29, 1861. Military league refers to an agreement which Tennessee had made with other southern states in case they were attacked by Union forces. A letter from M.D.L. Boren to Andrew Johnson, January 7, 1861, reveals that the use of arms among the Unionists was not absent in East Tennessee even before the February election. In describing an attempt to burn Johnson in effigy in Knoxville, Boren says the disunionists were "deterred from it by Union men of every party who was armed. . . ." M. D. L. Boren to Andrew Johnson, and also Joseph McDannel to Johnson, December 29,1860, Johnson MSS.

voted for separation and he wanted it corrected for he was a Union man and so voted."[51] Someone said a majority of lawyers in Knoxville were for separation. "This is true," wrote Brownlow, "but out of seventeen licensed preachers living within the limits of the city and vicinity, there are but two secessionists." Supposedly the Lord had kept the preachers in line. At a meeting near Strawberry Plains, according to Brownlow's report, three to five thousand men, women, and children were gathered. A troop train at the station had been waiting for three hours with steam up. It pulled out slowly as the meeting got under way. Somebody on the train threw a rock "with great force and accuracy" at A. K. Meek, Sr. (Meek was not hit.) Another threw an open knife at Wm. M. Lewis. Then shooting started. No one in the crowd was hurt, but leaves were cut off the trees over their heads. The crowd, "a peaceable assembly [Brownlow reminded his readers], returned the fire, with what damage they did not know! Over 1,000 men, women and children threatened to tear up the railroad and burn the bridge over the Holston."[52]

As the June election day came nearer, some Unionist leaders admitted difficulty in restraining their followers from committing open and violent acts against those who favored separation. "It was hard," declared Temple, "to restrain the infuriated Union men from acts of violence against the disunionists. More than once the leaders had to restrain them from marching into Knoxville in a body, and as they called it, 'clearing out the secessionists in the town.' " John Caldwell and F. S. Heiskell urged in the columns of the *Whig* that East Tennessee "Union men be moderate, do unto others as they would have others do unto them." The letter pointed out that the writers had been Union men all along and "now if a contest must come, let ours be a defensive position."[53]

Other Unionists were willing to threaten revenge and violence. In June, 1861, Brownlow's paper carried an editorial saying that threats had been made against Maynard because of a speech in which Maynard called southern troops blackguards and cutthroats. Brownlow said Maynard had so spoken and that if Maynard was harmed, he knew of "several prominent Secessionists in Knox County that would be killed instantly, as sure as there is a God in Heaven."[54]

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[51]*Whig*, February 9, 16, 1861.

[52]*Ibid.*, June 8, 15, 1861. The pro-separation paper in Knoxville referred sarcastically to this incident as the battle of Strawberry Plains and said it was a "terrible affair" in which "several hundred East Tennessee Union men, armed with rifles and shotguns *a la* Mr. Nelson's advice waylaid and fired upon a railroad train with two companies of unarmed recruits aboard." *Ibid.*, June 15, 1861, quoting Knoxville *Register* of June 7, 1861.

[53]Temple, *East Tennessee and the Civil War*, 186; *Whig*, June 22, 1861.

[54]*Ibid.*, June 29, 1861.

People in East Tennessee who wanted to demonstrate against Andrew Johnson for his speech in the Senate were "met by a group of citizens of all parties" and told that such attempts would "cause bloodshed." The remonstrating citizens were "armed with clubs, pistols and other implements of husbandry." According to Brownlow, East Tennesseans were organizing militia companies, holding musters, drilling, and passing resolutions against the state government, against tax levies, and against separation. Citizens were attending political meetings well armed and almost trigger-happy These group meetings, angered at seeing troops being transported toward Virginia, threatened several times to destroy the railroad running through East Tennessee before an actual attempt was made in November, 1861.[55]

The East Tennesseans voted differently partly because they were isolated and uninformed. This isolation, when added to the natural conservatism of these rural inhabitants, in a large measure accounts for the large vote against separation. The people of this section were not aware of being isolated. When the Nashville *Banner* explained that East Tennessee was more remote from the sources of information and would need more time than other sections of the state to adjust to the new situation, Brownlow flew ito a rage, saying: "Your statement that the people of East Tennessee are more remote from the sources of information is an insult. We are nearer to Washington, and nearer to Virginia, and Carolina than the people of Nashville are and our sources of information are just as reliable as well as abundant." Then he accused the Middle Tennessee publishers of backing down from their "convictions of right," and prayed "God deliver the people of East Tennessee . . . from such time serving leaders and journals."[56] Regardless of what the editor could answer, the explanation of the *Banner* was true, for as the election returns began to trickle in after the June election, Brownlow admitted the isolation charge so recently resented, though he did so unknowingly. Having forgotten what the *Banner* had said, he wrote, "We have only partial returns from the election and these are along the railroad and wires, where there has been a stream of secession fire, for months. When the mountain counties come in, the returns will be more fav-

[55] *Ibid.*, January 5, May 25, June 1, 1861. At a meeting in Rogersville in which William B. Carter and N. G .Taylor (Union speakers) opposed Joseph B. Heiskell and Wm. Cocke (for separation) in May, 1861, it was agreed there would be no applause or demonstration for either side. A Mrs. Murray Stover, not cognizant of this agreement, arrived late and threw a bouquet at one of the speakers. The whole audience arose in confusion; pistols were drawn and cocked. It looked for a moment as if there would be bloodshed. Samuel W. Scott and Samuel P. Angel, *History of the 13th Regiment of Tennessee Volunteer Calvary* (Knoxville, 1903), 39.

[56] *Whig*, May 4, 1861. This statement was a comment on the fact that the editors of Nashville were formerly pro-Union but had all changed and were later for separation.

orable to the Union ticket." Humes in his high praise of the loyal mountaineers made the same admission as did Brownlow as to East Tennessee's being isolated: "It was its [Scott County] people in their high and peaceful homes who did not hear that South Carolina had seceded until the event [had] lost all its freshness as news . . . ." Yet they were as he claimed, "alive and awake to the worth of 'Liberty and Union'. . . ."[57] The news of Ft. Sumter reached Nashville on the evening of April 12, but in Brownlow's paper dated April 13, no mention was made of any action at Ft. Sumter. The news did not reach rural readers of East Tennessee who depended on the *Whig* until they received the issue of April 20. The story in this issue was taken from the Richmond *Whig* with the comment, "supposedly true."[58] By that time, the "freshness" of the news and excitement of the occasion were gone. People who did not receive the news could not be expected to act upon it. The East Tennesseans were "standing plum still." The fact that the people were so thoroughly isolated gave the Unionist leaders ample opportunity to beat the bushes and arouse the sentiment they wanted without any information from the outside's interfering with their propaganda campaign. So thorough a job of censorship could not have been accomplished by the leaders of East Tennessee without the aid of natural barriers uninvaded at that time by the building of transportation and communication lines.

The Union leaders in East Tennessee were active all the time prior to the June election. One of the most influential of them was Andrew Johnson of Greeneville. He canvassed all East Tennessee in earnest opposition to separation. Johnson had supported Breckinridge in the November presidential election and like all others campaigning for the Breckinridge ticket he had urged its election as the only way to save the Union. After the election Johnson, a United States senator, did not go along with Middle and West Tennessee leaders of importance but began to work against separation or secession. "He is the consistent one," wrote Brownlow.[59] Johnson necessarily had to break with his party so far as the South was concerned, but he did not break with his following in East Tennessee, for these

[57]*Ibid.*, June 15, 1861. T. W. Humes, *The Loyal Mountaineers of Tennessee* (Knoxville, 1888), 107. The proof of East Tennessee's isolation was manifest throughout the Civil War when Lincoln and his generals were trying to bring an army into East Tennessee but were checked by transportation difficulties in that area, which in the words of Johnson himself seemed "an obstacle that could not be overcome." Andrew Johnson to Abraham Lincoln, August 9, 1863, May 29, 1863, and Abraham Lincoln to John M. Fleming and others, August 9, 1863, Lincoln Papers.

[58]*Whig*, April 13, 20, 1861. Brownlow concluded his war editorial in the April 20 issue by saying, "We should all, in this contest stand by our government, and pray for the success of her arms, and when the conflict is over, turn out the sectional party in power, and call men to rule over us who will restore peace to the country."

[59]*Ibid.*, March 9, May 4, 11, 1861.

people were generally opposed to separation. Nor did he break with the northern wing of his party, particularly the Douglas faction, because they like Johnson supported coercion in order to maintain the Union. To single out East Tennessee leaders and give them credit for influencing the section to stay with the Union is in the main fallacious. East Tennessee probably would have voted, in June, 1861, approximately as it did vote even if Johnson, Brownlow, Maynard, Baxter, Temple, and a host of others had not spoken a word or written a single editorial. There was, however, no county in the section which showed as wide a margin between Democratic party votes and voters against separation as did Greene, Johnson's home county. Other counties which compared most favorably with Greene were all in Johnson's congressional district with the exception of Bradley County. This comparison of votes seems to show rather conclusively that Johnson exerted a great influence for the Union. And at the same time this comparison raises the question of why he took such a definite stand. Surely he could not foresee what awaited him as vice-president and president—treatment afforded him, in the main, by people for whom he had done so much... Nor can the explanation be, as later writers like Temple would have us believe, pure patriotism. Brownlow was several times on the verge of giving up—and at times urged secession from the Union and the establishment of a "middle confederation" or secession from the state and the setting up of an independent state of East Tennessee.[60] It seems to have been a matter of interest in each case. In the years 1860-61 Johnson had the highest political office he had held up to that time. In the federal union he was somebody. With the prospect of successful passage of the homstead bill, of which he was a proponent, and with the prestige which would accrue to him both in the North and in the South as the result of engineering a reconcilation between the two sections, he had ample personal reason to embrace the Union cause. In addition, a feeling of sincere patriotism contributed to produce a tie too strong for Johnson to break. If he broke with the Union it would mean starting over in the South, assuming that the South might be successful in establishing a separate government, and he would for a time at least count for almost nothing. Why give up a sure thing with bright prospects for the future for something very uncertain and in which he could see no future for himself.

Whatever his reasons, he acted wholeheartedly with other leaders, mainly old-line Whigs, to keep East Tennessee from voting for separation in June, 1861. One announcement carried in the *Whig* indicates what the leaders were doing: "Saturday last was a

[60] *Ibid.*, April 20, June 25, 29, 1861.

great day in portions of East Tennessee." The article went on to say that Baxter and Johnson had spoken to a mass meeting in Greeneville where 5,000 gathered. It commented further, "Secession is losing ground in Greene. Col. Temple addressed 1500 at Thorn Grove in the corner of Knox, Sevier and Jefferson Counties for two hours." Horace Maynard had spoken for two and a half hours to from five to seven hundred at Ellijoy in Blount County. At Whortleberry Camp Ground Col. Trigg had addressed a crowd for three hours, while John M. Fleming had spoken to a crowd at Ball Camp in Knox County. This activity accounts in part for Brownlow's glowing description of a convention held in Knoxville to consider the coming June election. "Greater oneness of purpose and more determined spirit we have never witnessed among any body of men . . . they [the people attending] were far in advance of the Union Leaders in Knoxville," he wrote.[61]

Finally, one indistinct reason had some influence on East Tennessee's vote. These people, especially the leaders, were almost mortally afraid of war and thought that it would not come to them or their neighborhood if they could remain "plum still." Brownlow kept up this fiction because he was either deluded by his own desires or because it served an objective which would be highly satisfactory to him; that is, it would bring defeat to that section of the country so closely associated with the Democratic party. Again and again he told East Tennessee, "Nothing will occur, unless the South shall invite it, by attacks on their part. We believe that the attack will be made by the Southern army." Or he would raise the question, "Will there be fighting?" and then say, "This question . . . is by no means difficult to answer. If the Southern army does not advance on Washington . . . we have no hesitancy in saying there will be no fighting." He often assured the people that he had "no idea that the Northern army intends to invade Virginia or any other Southern State or to attempt its subjugation. We never have believed so or else our course would have been different."[62]

As the conflict drew near, the people were nervous and excited mainly because they had made no decision one way or the other. Finally, when nothing else offered hope of escape from war, many East Tennesseans, like their vociferous spokesman, Brownlow, took to the woods, cellars, or a nearby cave to hide for the duration. Many,

[61] *Ibid.*, May 25, June 8, 1861.

[62] *Ibid.*, May 11, 18, April 20, 1861. Brownlow argued that the "corrupt, thieving, defeated political party [was] plunging the whole country into a civil war. . . . We say let them now have it to their hearts content! Let fleets land all round the coast — let flying Artillery and Regulars be landed in their piney woods, and let them have battle upon battle, here a fire and there a fire, and upon them . . . rest the responsibilities of the consequences."

it seems, preferred this hiding and praying for relief by a Union army rather than an easy escape through the service offered by Daniel Ellis, a fellow sufferer also in hiding, who supposedly was offering a streamline guide service into nearby Kentucky. He was also running a regular mail service between East Tennessee and East Tennesseans who had fled to eastern Kentucky and the protection of the Union army there and, in some cases, to join it. Tennessee mountain youth, unlike the leaders in East Tennessee, joined the Union forces in numbers possibly reaching ten to fifteen thousand.[63]

Scott and Angel in their history of the 13th Tennessee Regiment suggest that some 30,000 men joined the Union army from East Tennessee and that the Unionists of East Tennessee made a difference in the northern and southern armies of some 70,000 men, which number probably turned the tide of the war against the South; therefore it was East Tennessee Unionists who saved the Union. The impression is highly inaccurate as to conclusion and facts. Records show that some thirty-one regiments consisting of from seven to thirteen companies each or about 31,000 men joined the Union forces from all of Tennessee. Of the thirty-one regiments only thirteen were recruited in whole or in part from East Tennessee. This would indicate that about 13,000 youths from East Tennessee joined the Union forces while some 18,000 joined from the other two sections of the state.[64] As history turned East Tennesseans deserve much credit for having been on the "right side"[65] but their efforts and influence in shaping events have been greatly exaggerated.

What kept the people of East Tennessee loyal to the Union? They remained loyal in part because they had long been conscious of a sectional difference from the other parts of the state; because the tide of secession sentiment in the course of rapidly moving events reached them too late to work its full effects; because their whole attitude and interest in slavery was unlike the rest of the state and the South; and because their lack of wealth made them feel they would have no place among a slaveholding aristocracy. They were also influenced by the fact that a majority of them harbored a real political hatred for the Democratic party, which was

[63]Scott and Angel, *History of the 13th Regiment,* 90-99. Humes relates, "It was not long before many men sought refuge in Kentucky from the conscription." A group of 600 or 700 men fled from Grainger County. Half escaped the Confederate calvary pursuing them, but over 300 surrendered. "Cowardice was imputed to them . . . for surrendering at once to a force numerically inferior," but Humes excused them because of their immaturity. Humes, *Loyal Mountaineers,* 165-66; Daniel Ellis, *Thrilling Adventures of Daniel Ellis* (New York, 1867), 28-38.

[64]General Marcus J. Wright, *Tennessee in the War* (New York, 1908), 131-200. These figures do not include Tennesseans who joined regiments of other states.

[65]General Burnside, writing to Lincoln in 1863, said, "I look upon East Tennessee as one of the most Loyal sections of the United States." Burnside to Lincoln, September 10, 1863, Lincoln Papers.

so closely associated with the secession movement that East Tennesseans considered secession a party affair; and they were subjected to powerful propaganda and in some cases to intimidation on the part of the Union leaders of the section. They were isolated and comparatively uninformed on current happenings heralding the approach of a great civil war; and finally the leaders and followers alike dreaded war and felt that it would not come to them or their section if they remained "plum still."

EAST TENNESSEE DURING THE RADICAL REGIME, 1865-1869

By James B. Campbell

By the fall of 1864 Military Governor Andrew Johnson and the unconditional Loyalists of Tennessee felt themselves in a sufficiently strong position to proceed with the restoration of normal civil government in the state. A meeting to prepare the way for a constitutional convention was called to meet at Nashville in December, but General Hood's attempt to retake Nashville caused a postponement until January.

Delegates were chosen in various ways, principally by mass meetings, but many came with scarcely any more authority than their own interest and desire to attend. Because East Tennesseans dominated the meeting, only those with unconditionally loyal records were seated.

While the original purpose of the meeting as announced was merely to lay the ground work and issue the call for a constitutional convention, the delegates decided to constitute themselves the constitutional convention. They drew up amendments abolishing slavery and prohibiting its reestablishment. To accompany the amendments in the first election a schedule was prepared which included a declaration that all acts of the "Tennessee Legislature during its affiliation with the Southern Confederacy" were null and void, including, of course, the "Declaration of Independence and Ordinance Dissolving the Federal Relations between the State of Tennessee and the United States." The schedule further ratified all of Johnson's acts as military governor and delegated the right to set voting qualifications to the first elected assembly. The election for ratification of the amendments and the appended schedule was then set for February 22, 1865.

Having accomplished its work as a constitutional convention, the Nashville meeting transformed itself into a nominating convention and prepared a list of candidates from every county for the legislature, heading the list with the name of William G. Brownlow for governor. All of the names were put on a general ticket to be voted on throughout the state on March 4, 1865. On the scheduled dates, February 22 and March 4, the amendments and schedules were ratified, and the general ticket candidates were elected, but the total vote barely reached the minimum prescribed in Lincoln's plan of

reconstruction, ten per cent of the number of votes cast in the election of 1860. The new legislature met in April, and Brownlow was inaugurated shortly before Lee's surrender at Appomattox. Thus Tennessee has a native-controlled civil government before the official end of the Civil War.[1]

This "scalawag" government, which remained largely intact until the elections of 1869, was dominated throughout its existence by its East Tennessee members. Much of its legislation was designed to prevent the return to power of ex-Confederates. Other acts, while inspired by the same motive in the main, were constructive in their implications. In the latter category might be placed the acts granting Negroes the right to testify in court, to vote, and to hold office and sit on juries. One piece of legislation which is thought by most objective historians of the period to have had outstanding merit was the school law of 1867. The worst legislation in the opinion of most historians was that in which aid to railroads was involved. But perhaps the condemnation of that phase has been too severe. Certainly the relation between railroad magnates and the Tennessee state government was no worse than the average relation between such elements in the period of rapid railroad expansion throughout the country.

But while legislators passed laws in Nashville, people elsewhere had to live their ordinary work-a-day lives. It is the purpose of this paper to give a few glimpses of such daily living as it took place in East Tennessee.

By the spring of 1865 the regions between Knoxville and Chattanooga were on the road to recovery. Farmers were beginning to plant normal crops, and trade was on a sharp upswing in the towns. The wheat crop while not bountiful was almost sufficient for home consumption and the oat crop was comparable to that of almost any of the pre-war years. Hay and corn were also abundant.[2]

This happy condition, however, did not prevail in the northeast corner of the region. There Confederate occupation, or the threat of it, had impeded steps toward rehabilitation until after Appomattox. Greene, Johnson, Carter, Washington, Hawkins, and Sullivan counties still had the denuded appearance that followed the passing of armies. The East Tennessee Relief Association concentrated its activities in this section, and thousands of dollars worth of food and clothing were distributed from the main centers. In some cases

[1]James W. Patton, *Unionism and Reconstruction in Tennessee,* 1860-1869 (Chapel Hill, 1934), 48-50; Philip M. Hamer, *Tennessee, A History,* 1673-1932, 4 vols. (New York, 1933), II, Ch. XXXVII.

[2]*Brownlow's Knoxville Whig and Rebel Ventilator,* July 19, 1865; in February, 1866, this paper's name was shortened to *"Knoxville Whig."* Hereafter Brownlow's paper and its successors will be cited as *"Whig."*

the need was so great that impatience and disorder attended the distribution. This was notably true at Rogersville, Greeneville, and Elizabethton. At the latter place an attempt was made to sell the relief supplies to those who were able to pay before making a free distribution. The hungry crowd would have none of this. They demanded that the agents give the goods away without delay, and their manner was so forceful that the agents complied.[3] Not until after the harvests of 1866 did this section recover sufficiently to feed itself.[4]

This period saw a considerable influx of population to the principal towns, Knoxville and Chattanooga. Laboring people sought employment there, while wealthier elements, many of whom had pro-Confederate records, were safer in the cities from the Unionist counter-terror than they would have been in the rural areas.[5] City life in these places was quite primitive by modern standards, although Knoxville seems to have been somewhat ahead of Chattanooga in urban refinements.

Chattanooga's main street, Market, was described as scarcely more than a long mudhole as late as 1868. There was no street lighting of any sort until a jeweler put up a coal-oil lamp on a post at his own expense.[6] In dry weather this metropolitan thoroughfare changed from a sea of mud to a sea of dust. This situation was ameliorated somewhat when a public-spirited and enterprising gentleman contracted with businessmen affected to spray the street daily between the hours of 1:30 and 7:00 in the morning.[7] Nevertheless, even with these lighting and sprinkling systems, the Chattanooga *Daily Republican* was moved to say as late as 1869 that Market Street's appearance indicated "Wealth to doctors and bankruptcy to life insurance companies."[8] At this time there were few stores, and most of those that were operating were carried on in converted government warehouses. The residences were described as mostly dingy, unpainted frame shanties.[9] Only in rare cases were sidewalks found. These dated from the flood in 1867 and were intended more as bridges than as what one would normally consider sidewalks. Constructed of planks, they constituted a strong tempta-

[3]Thomas W. Humes, *Third and Fourth Reports to the East Tennessee Relief Association at Knoxville* (Knoxville, 1868), 12.

[4]*Ibid.*, 14.

[5]Paul A. Counce, The Social and Economic History of Kingsport before 1908 (Master's thesis. University of Tennessee, 1939), 78.

[6]J. W. Livingood, "Chattanooga, Tennessee: Its Economic History in the Years Immediately Following Appomattox," East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications*, No. 15 (Knoxville, 1943), 39.

[7]Chattanooga *American Union*, March 29, 1868.

[8]Livingood, "Chattanooga," *loc. cit*, 39.

[9]Goodspeed Publishing Company, *History of Tennessee*, Hamilton County Edition (Nashville, 1887), 868.

tion to seekers for fuel and lumber. Hence, many gaps appeared, to the dire peril of nocturnal pedestrians.[10]

In 1868 there was a mild controversy between the editors of the Athens *Post* and the Chattanooga *Daily Republican* over the degree of unimpressiveness of Chattanooga's appearance. The Athens editor, on a visit to Chattanooga, said that the "spirit of improvement does not seem to be exercising control," and that "a portion of the buildings begin to look time-worn and seedy." This, the Chattanooga editor did not challenge, but when the critic went on to say that two-thirds of Chattanooga's houses were miserable board shanties with clay chimneys, the Chattanooga editor offered some argument as to the correctness of the proportion.[11]

Lawlessness was common, and the city court dockets were usually crowded. Keepers of bawdy houses flourished. The local police policy was to bring these offenders in once a week in order to collect a five-dollar fine. This, in effect, amounted to a licensing system with a fee of five dollars per week. On one occasion, a local newspaper reported that five bawdy house keepers, one of whom kept two houses with eight girls in each, came in to pay their fines in one day. The newspaper pointed out that these were not all, that more were to be notified by the police to come in and pay the fine.[12]

The condition of the city jail should have kept prospective lawbreakers on the straight and narrow path. A correspondent of a local newspaper in late 1867 described it as being completely devoid of stoves and panes of glass. In the upper story he found over a dozen women in one room without a single chair, bench, or bed visible. There were holes in the ceiling, and the roof was badly in need of repair.[13]

The laboring man scarcely lived off the fat of the land. Unskilled labor received from 75 cents to $1.50 per day.[14] The city paid a little more than the scale in private industry. In March, 1868, the city council set a schedule under which laborers would receive $1.75 per day; mechanics, $2.50; teams, $3.00; foremen, $2.00; and quarry men, $1.50.[15] If the worker lived in a boarding house he would not have much left from his pay check for liquor and riotous living, since a typical rate for board was $25 per month, $5 per week, and 35 cents per individual meal.[16] The constant

[10]Chattanooga *American Union*, February 18, 1868.
[11]Livingood, "Chattanooga," *loc. cit.*, 38.
[12]Chattanooga *American Union*, March 12, 1868.
[13]*Ibid.*, November 1, 1867.
[14]*Facts and Figures Concerning the Climate, Manufacturing Advantages and the Agricultural and Mineral Resources of East Tennessee* (Knoxville, 1869), 17.
[15]Chattanooga *American Union*, March 11, 1868.
[16]*Ibid.*, April 4, 1868.

threat of unemployment also limited the working man's security during this period.[17]

However, there was a rosier side to the picture of the Mountain City. If one had money he could live in comfort and even enjoy some luxuries. In the income tax returns submitted to the federal internal revenue department for 1867 appear the names of fifty-three residents of Hamilton County, most of whom were Chattanoogans. While the highest taxable income listed was only $6582.83, it is to be assumed that the actual income in each case was considerably greater than that declared to the government.[18]

There were opportunities to spend money on luxury goods and entertainment. Several dealers carried such food items as dates, oranges, lemons, and oysters.[19] There were billiard parlors, saloons, bowling alleys, and houses featuring intriguing gambling devices.[20] A summer resort was opened on Lookout Mountain in 1865.[21] Circuses and traveling shows were frequent occurrences.[22] Baseball was played during most of the year, and Chattanooga had several clubs, one of which, the Mountain City, played games against representatives of Knoxville, Nashville, and Memphis.[23] For those with more refined tastes there were frequent musical programs and performances by amateur players.[24]

Chattanooga had had a good bridge across the Tennessee (constructed by the Federal army) prior to the flood of 1867. After this bridge was swept away a crude ferry was the only means of crossing the river. No improved roads extended into the hinterland, and such dirt roads as existed became impassable in bad weather.[25] When Chattanoogans went to the county seat at Harrison, about 14 miles away, they preferred to go by steamer on the river.[26]

Knoxville entered the period of the Radical regime greatly damaged as a result of occupation, successively, by southern and northern armies. It was still a country town in which boys frequently chased rabbits through the streets and gardens, and a gentleman caught a large opossum under his house in the heart of the city as late as the fall of 1868.[27] Garbage disposal was the responsibility of the individual citizen, who apparently did not

[17] *Ibid.*, February 4, 1868.
[18] *Ibid.*, April 4, 1868.
[19] *Ibid.*, January 7, 1868.
[20] *Ibid.*, *February* 29, 1868.
[21] *Whig*, August 16, 1865.
[22] Chattonooga *American Union*, November 1, 1867, January 15, 1868.
[23] *Ibid.*, March 10, 1868.
[24] *Ibid.*, December 8, 1867, February 9, 1868.
[25] Livingood, "Chattanooga," loc. cit., 39.
[26] Chattanooga *American Union*, February 4, 1868.
[27] Knoxville *Press and Herald*, December 1, 1868.

always assume his responsibility. The city council passed an ordinance in 1868 requiring residents to remove all offensive material from their premises under pain of having it removed by the city marshal at the expense of the property holder. The same council meeting recorded a petition signed by a large number of citizens requesting an ordinance to prohibit "hogs running loose in the streets." [28] But Knoxville's growth and development was more rapid and more even than that of Chattanooga. Its population steadily advanced during the period.[29] While the city had been left fenceless and with most of its buildings either destroyed or damaged in 1864, its recovery in this respect was unbelievably rapid.[30] By 1867 the building boom had made progress to the extent that four hundred houses were erected during the year. Nor were these board shanties. Most of them were "commodious houses of brick, or large frame dwellings, or neat cottages."[31]

John Fleming, whose hatred of the Radical regime, led him to decry the "evil times upon which our people have fallen," said editorially of Knoxville:

> But Knoxville seems to be a wonderful exception to the general rule. In all directions, as if by magic, factories, machine shops, storehouses, dwelling houses, and buildings of every description are springing up. Business, in all its varieties, seems to be thriving. The people, generally, seem to have remunerative occupations—at least they dress well, look well, and appear to be healthy.[32]

An early campaign was sponsored by the *Whig* to get street lighting,[33] but the result was not achieved until September, 1867.[34] The Knoxville Gas Company submitted a bill for over $200 for October, the first month of operation, for gas used in public lamps. While this was deemed exorbitant by the city council, and negotiations were carried on in order to reduce it, the amount seems to indicate rather extensive street lighting.[35]

A rather modern fire department was in operation. The city bought a steam fire engine, 1,200 feet of hose, and a hose carriage in January, 1868, at the expense of over $8,000.[36] During the latter part of the same year, a two-story brick building forty feet square

[28] *Whig*, March 11, 1868.
[29] *Facts and Figures*, 20.
[30] Knoxville *Free Press*, August 22, 1867.
[31] *Ibid.*, November 5, 1867.
[32] Knoxville *Press and Herald*, October 24, 1868.
[33] *Whig*, March 5, 1864.
[34] Knoxville *Free Press*, September 1, 1867.
[35] Knoxville *Herald*, November 9, 1867.
[36] William Rule (ed.), *Standard History of Knoxville* (Chicago, 1900), 106.

was built for the new fire engine at the head of Market Square. The fire engine occupied the lower floor, while the municipal offices were located upstairs.[37]

Law enforcement seems to have been a little more efficient in Knoxville than in Chattanooga. Prostitutes were barred from the city by ordinance. However, the suburbs were not distant, and there, according to the *Free Press,*[38] they could "be seen walking the streets at almost all hours of the day and night, plying their infamous vocation."

Several of the streets were graded and had curbs, and a few were macadamized.[39] The roads entering the city were considerably superior to the corresponding ones into Chattanooga. A number of these roads were built by turnpike companies including those from Tazewell and Kingston. The Kingston Turnpike Company, chartered by the legislature in 1866, raised funds by subscription in order to build and macadamize the first five miles. From there on, the plan was "pay as you go." A toll gate was erected and fees were collected to build the next five miles.[40] A traveler on the Tazewell Pike in 1867 saw six miles of road lined with stone for macadamizing. Many workers were engaged in pounding the large stones into small ones. It was estimated that the Pike would be macadamized nine miles out of Knoxville by the spring of 1868.[41]

The wage scale in Knoxville was about the same as in Chattanooga, except that the city council seems to have paid a slightly lower rate.[42] Apparently Knoxville had only one labor union during reconstruction. It was a branch of the typographical union and was organized November 9, 1867. This was no militant or radical organization, and it aroused no fears, apparently, in the breasts of the newspaper owners. The union called for a ten-hour day and a minimum wage of $16 per week.[43] The Knoxville *Free Press* assumed an attitude of benevolent paternalism toward the union and gave the members an editorial pat on the back as follows:

> The terms laid down by the Knoxville "Union" are no higher than those already allowed, we believe, by all the proprietors. We wish the boys a pleasant time and trust they may prosper in carrying out the legitimate objects of their "Union."[44]

[37] *Ibid.*, 106-107.
[38] September 5, 1867.
[39] *Whig,* June 10, 1867, September 30, 1869.
[40] Rule, *Knoxville,* 272-273. State aid was granted to the turnpike companies in 1866. *Acts of Tennessee,* 1865-1866, p. 266.
[41] Knoxville *Herald,* November 8, 1867.
[42] *Whig,* March 11, 1868.
[43] Knoxville *Herald,* November 12, 1867.
[44] Knoxville *Free Press,* November 14, 1867.

Rents were so high in 1866 that Brownlow thought nearly all dwelling houses were out of the reach of the "mechanic or the man of small capital." [45] Retail prices of food, however, began to decline in 1865, and by late 1866 they had reached a level comparable with pre-war normal. Variety was on the increase, and gradually imported foods and delicacies appeared in quantity in the stores. Raisins, tea, lemons, and spices were on the shelves of Knoxville shops by February, 1866.[46] Such terms as cudbear, logwood, madder, and copperas appeared often in the market advertisements.[47] These substances were used in dyeing cloth, a practice which was still common in rural homes. Ginseng was sold on the general market for medicinal purposes. Furs were also prominent on market list advertisements, particularly fox, coon, mink, muskrat, otter, and opossum, with prices ranging from $2.50 to $3.00 for an otter skin to five cents for an opossum fur.[48] Eggs, chickens, turkeys, and ducks were plentiful and cheap after 1866, and venison was on the market most of the time. Sugar, candy, and coal-oil were expensive items, the latter ranging from 75 cents to $2.50 per gallon.[49]

For leisure time Knoxville offered many recreational opportunities. There were a number of saloons and billiard parlors, in some cases the two in combination. One advertised itself as "directly in rear of the *Press and Herald* office where you can read the news or drink the dews." [50] An ice cream parlor was opened on Market Square in the spring of 1865.[51] A dancing club organized in 1868 sponsored dances regularly in the local auditorium.[52] Circuses passed through frequently, and shows featuring freaks were common.[53] Baseball was extremely popular and Knoxville had at least five teams at one time, not counting the Negro teams.[54] A baseball tournament held in the fall of 1867 was said to have been witnessed by "14,141 of Knoxville's fairest, bravest, smallest, largest, and blackest."[55]

An auditorium begun in the fall of 1867 was completed the following year. According to its published plans the structure could seat 1,500 persons and was lighted with gas and heated with hot air pipes.[56] About the same time Professor Knabe, the local music teacher, organized a chorus and orchestra into the Philharmonic

[45] *Whig.*, December 12, 1866.
[46] *Ibid.*, February 7, 1866.
[47] *Ibid.*, February 7, 1866, July 7, 1869.
[48] Knoxville *Commercial*, March 13, 1866.
[49] *Whig*, July 7, 19, 1869.
[50] Knoxville *Press and Herald*, October 14, 1868.
[51] *Whig*, May 10, 1865.
[52] Knoxville *Press and Herald*, November 5, 1868.
[53] *Ibid.*, October 6, 1868
[54] Knoxville *Free Press*, September 4, 1867.
[55] *Ibid.*, November 6, 1867.
[56] Knoxville *Herald*, November 17, 1867.

Society,[57] which gave a concert of classical and semi-classical music in the fall of 1868. The critic of the *Press and Herald*,[58] which carried a long review of the performance, thought the orchestra work generally good, but thought the lady pianist a little too delicate in her touch for a performance in an auditorium. Some pieces were too long, he complained, and he suggested that it would have been more appropriate to have interspersed some old popular music with the classical.

The Germans of Knoxville had their own cultural organization, the *Turn Verein,* which gave musical and recreational programs frequently. One of these programs, called by the originators a "Moonlight Promenade Concert," featured instrumental music, singing, dancing, and athletic feats.[59] Further proof that Knoxville was not indifferent to music lay in the prominence of advertisements for organs and pianos and also in the fact that 147 pianos were reported on the tax list of 1867.[60]

The emergence of East Tennessee as an industrial and mining region, prophesied by leaders from the time of Ezekial Birdseye, began to take form in this period. It is true that not much momentum was gained before the 1870's, but the signs were unmistakable. Industrial associations and boards of trade were formed to promote the movement. These booster groups did not boast so much of achievements as of possibilities. One such organization, the Knoxville Industrial Association, published a pamphlet on the status of manufacturing, agriculture, and mining as of 1868. This pamphlet, *Facts and Figures,* pointed out that with the exception of a few furnaces and foundries, a nail factory, a few cotton yarn factories, "a steam tannery or two, some plow factories, a soap factory, a few steam saw mills . . . one zinc establishment, a few rolling mills . . . we are just where we were fifty years ago"; and that there was only one woolen goods factory in the state and none for weaving any cotton cloth other than brown domestic.[61] The practice of importing so much was deplored as follows:

> We import from other states all our reapers, mowers, threshers and engines, all of our chairs, axes, shovels, hoes, rakes, forks, wire, sheet-iron, iron pipes, hinges, scythes, picks, willowware and rope, and even our ax and pick handles and wagon spokes, most of our plows, brooms, furniture, wooden-ware, fire grates, stoves, corn shellers, horse shoes and horse shoe nails, domestic prints, woolens, boots, shoes, hats, clothing, and most of our carriages, and many of our wagons, besides hundreds of other articles. The

[57] *Ibid.*, December 20, 1867.
[58] December 6, 1868.
[59] *Whig*, July 21, 1869.
[60] Rule, *Knoxville*, 107.
[61] *Facts and Figures*, 16-17.

average cost of transportation on thirty of these articles . . . is 17% as compared with the original cost.[62]

The pamphlet further deplored paying freight on reapers and mowers from Chicago; plows, axes, and horseshoes from Connecticut; stoves from Albany, Philadelphia, and Cincinnati; carriages from New Hampshire, and brooms from New York.[63]

A more detailed catalog of the industry already started, however, seems a little more impressive than the *Facts and Figures* pamphlet would indicate. Knoxville and Chattanooga were, of course, the main centers of the rising new industry, although there were other centers of more than negligible importance.

By 1869 Knoxville had one establishment, the Knoxville Iron Company, which included a rolling mill, a foundry, a machine shop, a nail mill, and a railroad spike machine.[64] This company was formed by a carpetbagger, who had been a Federal quartermaster, in partnership with some Welsh immigrants.[65] Under its auspices the first coal to be transported on the Knoxville and Kentucky Railroad was brought into Knoxville.[66] Other foundries were the Knoxville Foundry and Machine Shop, which, in addition to doing repair work for the railroads and other factories and mills, made plows, grates, hollow ware and circular saws for saw mills;[67] and the Cumberland, which made railroad castings, hollow ware, grates, and stoves.[68]

Knoxville also had four furniture factories (although nine-tenths of her furniture was still imported from the North), a tannery, a pork factory that produced bacon and lard, a soap factory, two breweries, three planing mills which operated sash, door, and blind factories; a gas works which lighted the principal streets and a large share of the stores and private residences, seven flour mills, two saw mills, one pottery mill, one turning mill, four tin-working shops, and a paper mill.[69]

Chattanooga industry grew from 22 small industries employing 214 men in 1860 to 58 industrial establishments employing 850 workmen in 1870.[70] Retail and wholesale trade was still the main business in the Mountain City but there were several saw mills, grist mills, and two furniture factories in the city during this period.

[62] *Ibid.*, 17.
[63] *Ibid.*
[64] *Helms' Knoxville City Directory*, 1869 (Knoxville, 1869), 45-46.
[65] Rule, *Knoxville*, 207.
[66] *Ibid.*, 208.
[67] *Whig*, October 10, 1866.
[68] *Ibid.*; Rule, *Knoxville*, 198.
[69] Knoxville *Commercial*, August 1, 1866; Knoxville *Free Press*, August 30, 1867; *Helms' Knoxville Directory*, 46-47.
[70] Livingood, "Chattanooga," *loc. cit.*, 37-38.

The latter made bureaus, beds, chairs, and school furniture.[71] Far more important was the incipient iron industry. In 1864 a rolling mill to reroll iron rails was built by the federal government.[72] This property was leased to private citizens in October, 1865. The company failed in 1868 due to failure to get enough iron to operate at capacity,[73] and early in 1869 it was sold to J. T. Wilder, the greatest of the carpetbaggers to settle in East Tennessee, and was made a part of the Roane Iron Company. Wilder put in puddling furnaces and began making iron rails.[74]

Wilder had served in the war as a commander of a distinguished unit referred to as Wilder's Lightning Brigade. On release from the army he sought a milder climate because of poor health. East Tennessee's climate together with her resources in minerals caused him to decide to migrate here. Moving to Chattanooga at the age of 36, he prospected about the region until he found the right combination of coal and iron in Roane County. Joined by other capitalists he formed the Roane Iron Company in 1867.[75]

The Roane County plant was located at Oak Springs, four miles from the Tennessee River. The iron ore was dug about one-half mile from the furnace at a cost of fifty cents per ton and was hauled to the furnace on a small railway. Coal also was mined only one-half mile from the furnace. A high quality of iron was made and operating expenses were low.[76] Output in the beginning was said to be 9,000 tons per year. Wilder thought the coal mine was the thickest vein in the world. He stated that an air course driven through the vein indicated it to be over 100 feet thick, "more than twice the thickness of the largest bed of anthracite coal in Pennsylvania."[77]

In Polk County a copper-mining industry supported a population of about 3,000.[78] These mines in Copper Basin were said to yield more copper than any other in the United States with the exception of the Lake Superior mines.[79] The East Tennessee Zinc Company, located in Jefferson County at a mine with an ore vein five to six feet thick, was said to be one of four of its kind in the United States. The operating machinery was powered by a turbine wheel. The company told Mr. Bokum, the state immigration com-

[71] *Ibid.*, 44.
[72] Goodspeed, *History of Tennessee,* 262.
[73] Livingood, "Chattanooga," *loc. cit.*, 45.
[74] Goodspeed, *History of Tennessee,* 262.
[75] Samuel C. Williams, *General John T. Wilder, Commander of the Lightning Brigade* (Bloomington, Indiana, 1936), 40, 42.
[76] Goodspeed, *History of Tennessee,* 262.
[77] *Whig,* July 21, 1869.
[78] Hermann Bokum, *The Tennessee Handbook and Immigrant's Guide* (Philadelphia, 1868), 42.
[79] *Facts and Figures,* 15.

missioner, that it expected to make 2,500 pounds of zinc oxide during 1868 and twice that amount during 1869.[80] Iron mines were operating in Greene County and lead mines in Bradley.[81] Much marble was quarried in Hawkins County near Rogersville. This area furnished marble for the state capitols of Ohio and South Carolina and for the National Capitol at Washington.[82]

Apparently the only factory manufacturing woolen cloth was at Kingsport. Set up by a man who had formerly operated a cotton factory in Des Moines, Iowa, this factory sent out wagons to twelve counties in East Tennessee to exchange manufactured cloth and blankets for raw wool to make more cloth and blankets. Operated by water power, its machinery included carding machines, looms, and finishing machines. One loom could weave ten to fifteen blankets per day. From eight to ten looms, each of which could weave forty yards per day, were used for weaving woolen cloth. Weavers were paid two and one-half cents per yard and, therefore, if they worked diligently, could make $1.00 per day. Ten women and five men were employed in the plant. Most of the cloth woven was either red-and-white-striped, widely preferred for petticoats, or solid gray.[83]

A wool-spinning factory was enough of a rarity to create something of a sensation at Elizabethton as late as 1869. According to the Knoxville *Whig*,[84] men, women, and children came from miles around on horseback, on foot, in carriages and wagons to see it operate and to witness the results of rough wool "just as it was sheared from the backs of the sheep going through three or four processes and coming out into beautiful and finely sprun threads as even and as uniform as the hairs in a horse's mane."

To emphasize the overwhelming rural nature of East Tennessee society in this period, only two towns, with the exception of Knoxville and Chattanooga, had populations of more than 1,000. These were Greeneville and Cleveland.[85] Most of the people lived on farms of from 20 to 100 acres. A few counties, notably Jefferson, Sullivan, Blount, Greene, Monroe, McMinn, and Rhea, had a substantial proportion of farms larger than 100 acres. There were eighty farms in East Tennessee ranging from 500 to 1,000 acres, while only eleven in the whole region were larger than 1,000 acres.[86] Knox,

[80]Bokum, *Tennessee Handbook*, 25.
[81]*Ibid.*, 40.
[82]*Ibid.*, 22.
[83]Counce, Kingsport, 79-80.
[84]June 10, 1869.
[85]United States Census Office, *A Compendium of the Ninth Census*, 1870 (Washington, 1872), 328-339.
[86]Ninth Census, *The Statistics of the Wealth and Industry of the United States*, 1870 (Washington, 1872), 362.

Greene, Washington, Roane, Blount, Hamilton, and Jefferson were the wealthiest counties in the order given, as judged by the total value of their real and personal property, while Morgan, Scott, and Sequatchie were the poorest by the same criterion.[87]

Farming was more diversified than in any other section of the state. Very little cotton was grown, the total in 1869 amounting to a little over 2,000 bales. Nearly all the counties raised substantial quantities of tobacco, Irish and sweet potatoes, winter wheat, corn, and oats. Lesser quantities of beans, hay, spring wheat, rye, barley, buckwheat, rice, hemp, flax, sorghum, butter, cheese, wine, maple sugar, wax, honey, apples, peaches, and pears were also produced.[88]

Livestock raised included horses, mules, asses, milk cows, working oxen, beef cattle, sheep, and hogs. In East Tennessee oxen were used far more extensively for draft purposes than mules. This was another respect in which the region differed from the rest of the state. Greene, Knox, and Jefferson were the greatest producers of livestock.[89]

Bottom lands along the creeks and rivers were said to yield upwards of fifty bushels of corn to the acre.[90] Land prices for these bottom lands ranged from $50 to $100 per acre. Other good improved farm lands could be bought for $5 to $25 per acre, while mountain lands sold for as little as 30 cents per acre.[91] The average assessed valuation of land per acre ranged from 53 cents in Scott County to $12.06 in Hamilton.[92]

From the beginning of the reconstruction period East Tennesee made efforts to attract immigrants to her soil. In this Parson Brownlow and the Radicals took the lead, but there was no disagreement on the part of the Conservatives and the Democrats in this matter. Contact with northern troops in the Federal army, some of whom had remained to settle in Tennessee, was a factor in accelerating the movement for inducing northerners to come down with their capital or their labor power. The commissioners of the Pennsylvania Relief Association for East Tennessee lent their endorsement to the idea. Near Loudon they had visited with a planter who, having employed a discharged Yankee soldier to work for him, was more than satisfied: "He said the soldier did more work in one day than any negro did in five."[93] The commissioners also remarked in the report of their trip

[87] *Ibid.*, 57-58.
[88] *Ibid.*, 242-249.
[89] *Ibid.*
[90] *Facts and Figures*, 6.
[91] *Ibid.*, 6-7.
[92] Bokum, *Tennessee Handbook*, 52.
[93] *Report to the Contributors to the Pennsylvania Relief Association for East Tennessee . . .* (Philadelphia, 1864), 22.

that "East Tennessee with its fertile lands, its rich mines, and valuable water power, presents a fine field for the application of northern labor and capital, and when this calamity is overpast, and a direct railroad communication with the North is secured, it will prosper as never before."[94]

About the same time Brownlow began to wage an editorial campaign in the *Whig* on the subject of immigration. He said that East Tennessee needed tin and stove shops, carpenters, cabinet makers, boot and shoe shops, tanneries, tailors, blacksmiths, machinists, saddlers, harness makers, carriage makers, school teachers, and physicians. He invited loyal immigrants to come in and perform these jobs in place of the "rebel lick spittles" who had fled south. "The country now looks bad," concluded the Parson, "but the war over and everything will spring into life."[95]

In early 1866 the German Association of Knoxville had a bureau of immigration to promote the flow of German-born immigrants to East Tennessee. The association had already secured an agreement with the president of the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad to transport immigrants at half price. The trip was made by steamer to Norfolk and then to Knoxville by rail. Julius Ochs, the president of the immigration bureau, announced that many German families wished to come to East Tennessee.[96]

Newspapers, both Conservative and Radical, joined in the clamor for immigration, although the Radical press was a little more enthusiastic about the matter. "We want an emigration [*sic*] of enterprizing men in all the avocations of life to hammer old fogyism out of all of us," stated the Jonesboro *Union Flag* (Radical).[97] The paper further said that East Tennessee would do well to adopt the northern system of industry and education, and that if this were done it would make the section one "boasting opulent and wealthy cities" and that East Tennesse would then "march on to her grand destiny amid the thunder roar of innumerable factories."

Whether as a result of the campaign or for other reasons, a sizeable number of immigrants did come to East Tennessee. Some of these were outstanding capitalists such as J. T. Wilder, H. S. Chamberlain, and William J. Ramage.[98] The Nashville *Press and Times* estimated that six to eight families per week were entering East Tennesse early in 1867.[99] Yet it was capital rather than labor

[94]*Ibid.*
[95]*Whig,* January 16, 1864.
[96]Knoxville *Commercial,* March 13, 1866.
[97]August 16, 1867.
[98]Rule, *Knoxville,* 333.
[99]W. B. Hesseltine, "Tennessee's Invitation to Carpetbaggers," East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications,* No. 4 (1932), 106.

which migrated, few northern laborers finding the enticements attractive enough. Those laborers who did come favored East Tennessee.[100]

There were some discordant notes mingled with the hymns of invitation, however. The Conservative press often found it necessary to use the carpetbagger designation as a political weapon. For example, Horace Maynard was denounced as an "adventurer from Massachusetts who settled here several years ago."[101] Such attacks did not help attract other "adventurers." Then there was some tendency on the part of natives to exploit the newcomers. The German Association sent a questionnaire to farmers asking the price of land. A Bradley County farmer replied that he had some uncleared land that he would be willing to part with at the rate of $20 per acre. At this time such land could be bought in Minnesota for $1.25 per acre. The Knoxville *Herald*[102] thought the Bradley farmer underestimated the native shrewdness of prospective German immigrants. "People won't come to Tennessee," it warned editorially, "to benefit the present inhabitants, but to make money and improve their own condition."

In December, 1867, the legislature created a state board of immigration,[103] and Hermann Bokum was chosen commissioner of immigration. His experience had included work with the United States Department of State Bureau of Immigration,[104] and he had also served for a time as agent of the Freedmen's Bureau in East Tennessee.[105] Shortly after Bokum's appointment the East Tennessee Immigration Society was formed at a convention of East Tennessee teachers.[106]

Bokum took his duties seriously. Early in 1868 he published a book extolling the attractions of Tennessee, in which book East Tennessee got a disproportionate share of space. The mineral and industrial possibilities were emphasized over the agricultural. In addition to his book, Bokum wrote numerous letters to New York papers extolling the climate, resources, and freedom from lawlessness in East Tennessee.[107]

The following year the Knoxville Industrial Association published a pamphlet designed to promote immigration. Emphasizing the

[100]*Ibid.*, 105-106.
[101]Knoxville *Commercial*, August 1, 1866. Actually, Maynard had come to Tennessee long before the war and also long before the editor of the *Commercial* settled in the state.
[102]December 21, 1867.
[103]Hesseltine, "Invitation to Carpetbaggers," *loc. cit.*, 108.
[104]Bokum, *Tennessee Handbook*, 3.
[105]Hesseltine, "Invitation to Carpetbaggers," *loc. cit.*, 109.
[106]Knoxville *Herald*, December 27, 1867.
[107]Hesseltine, "Invitation to Carpetbaggers," *loc. cit.*, 112.

industrial and mineral resources of the section, this pamphlet offered the additional enticements of cheap labor, equable climate, and freedom from disorder. On the latter point the pamphlet said: "The people of East Tennessee are at peace. The outrages of which strangers may read are in Middle and West Tennessee. There are no Ku Klux outrages here."[108] The association arranged for special railway rates for persons coming south in order to prospect for homes or opportunities for investment.[109] The Knoxville city council cooperated by offering to buy fifteen to twenty acres of land and give it to any capitalist willing to invest $100,000 in a manufacturing enterprise.[110]

The Chattanooga *Daily Republican* carried an advertisement beginning December 8, 1868, and continuing for a month, with the heading "Wanted Immediately, Any Number of Carpetbaggers to Come to Chattanooga and Settle." The advertisement went on to extol the climate, soil, minerals, and railroads of the region and to assure prospective immigrants that the jurisdiction of the "Ku Klux Klan and other vermin does not extend over these parts."[111]

The results of the various campaigns are difficult to evaluate. No doubt some of the migration of northern capital and labor were due to such propaganda. One sixth of the property of Knoxville was owned by northern immigrants in 1869.[112] But some emigration from the section occurred during the period, particularly to Missouri.[113] In the fall elections of 1869 the Democrats won control of the state government, but no fundamental change in the policy of encouraging immigration resulted. However, the emphasis was shifted perceptibly to European immigrants rather than northern capital.[114]

The railroads existing or being built during this period were the East Tennessee and Virginia running from Knoxville to Bristol with a branch line to Rogersville; the East Tennessee and Georgia from Knoxville to Chattanooga with a branch extending to Dalton from Cleveland; the Knoxville and Kentucky; the Knoxville and Charleston; and the Cincinnati, Cumberland Gap, and Charleston.[115]

The East Tennessee and Georgia and the East Tennessee and Virginia had been completed before the war.[116] These two railroads

[108]*Facts and Figures*, 11.
[109]*Ibid.*, 21.
[110]*Whig*, September 30, 1869.
[111]Livingood, "Chattanooga," *loc. cit.*, 40.
[112]Hesseltine, "Invitation to Carpetbaggers," *loc. cit.*, 105.
[113]*Whig*, September 30, 1869.
[114]Hesseltine, "Invitation to Carpetbaggers," *loc. cit.*, 115.
[115]Bokum, *Tennessee Handbook*, frontispiece map.
[116]These roads were consolidated in 1869. R. O. Biggs, The Development of Railroad Transportation in East Tennessee During the Reconstruction Period (Master's thesis, University of Tennessee, 1934), 140-141.

made connections with Baltimore and New York. The trip from Knoxville to New York required fifty-two hours, and the fare was $33.20. Freight for the same distance was at the rate of $2.70 per hundred pounds. The trip from Knoxville to Chattanooga took about nine hours,[117] possibly due to stops at the eating houses on the way. Trains stopped full time for meals at Knoxville,[118] and eating houses were located at various towns between there and Chattanooga for the benefit of rail travelers, those at Loudon and Mouse Creek (Niota) being cited for their good meals.[119]

The Knoxville and Kentucky had been graded to Clinton before the war, and rails had been laid ten miles out of Knoxville. During the war Joseph A. Mabry, the president of the company, used the line mainly to haul wood for the Confederates. By the end of the war less than six miles of track remained, and the main bridges were missing.[120] As early as the last months of 1863 efforts were made to complete construction of the road to Lexington as a military project. Burnside prepared to construct it,[121] and Brownlow urged Lincoln to press it on Congress in his next annual message.[122] Federal subsidy failed to materialize, but the state government was more kind. With lavish state subsidies the road was completed thirty-two miles out of Knoxville by March, 1866.[123] No more was completed until 1868 when seven more miles of track were laid. The cost of construction of the first thirty-two miles had been at the rate of $43,000 per mile, but when the full thirty-nine miles had been completed the average cost had jumped to $60,000 per mile.[124]

It is to be noted that the Radicals were not alone in their support of Mabry and his railroad exploits and exploitations. The Conservative press in East Tennessee was as loud in its praise and support as the *Whig*. The Knoxville *Free Press*, on November 22, 1867, praised the Omnibus Bill which appropriated $800,000 to the Knoxville and Kentucky. "We are glad to see that Hon. D. C. Senter is strongly pressing the bill," the editorial continued. A week later, the same paper observed:

> Much praise is due alike to General Mabry, for the faithful and able manner in which he has presented the subject to the favorable notice of the

[117] *Whig*, September 6, 1864, November 1, 1865.
[118] *Ibid.*, April 2, 1864.
[119] Knoxville *Commercial*, March 13, 1866.
[120] Biggs, Railroad Transportation, 59, 61, 63.
[121] E. M. Coulter, *William G. Brownlow, Fighting Parson of the Southern Highlands* (Chapel Hill, 1937), 249-250.
[122] *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 129 vols. and index (Washington, 1880-1901), Ser. I, Vol. XXXI, pt. 3, p. 278.
[123] *Report of the Joint Select Committee of the Tennessee General Assembly on the Knoxville and Kentucky Railroad* (Nashville, 1870), 6.
[124] *Ibid.*, 19.

Legislature, and also to the Legislature itself, for the wisdom, foresight and liberality they have evinced in their legislation in regard to the same.[125]

The Knoxville and Charleston was also aided by a state grant in 1866. The road was completed to Maryville in 1868, the first train making the trip on August 3 of that year, but financial difficulties prevented further progress.[126]

By the middle of 1866 the Cincinnati, Cumberland Gap, and Charleston had been completed forty miles out of Morristown. Daily trains ran on this line, which connected with an Asheville stage line at Wolf Creek. Three hours and twenty minutes were required for the trip from Morristown to Wolf Creek.[127]

The other great means of transportation in East Tennessee was the Tennessee River. Many river craft plied the stream between Loudon and Chattanooga at all seasons of the year. Smaller craft reached Knoxville at all seasons and ascended such tributary streams as the French Broad, the Little Tennessee, the Clinch, the Hiwassee, Sale Creek, and Emory River.[128] Much competition was carried on for the trade in produce along the river banks. The farmers along the upper river piled their freight at the wharf, and the first steamer captain to cover the freight with his tarpaulin was entitled by the law of the river to collect what he had covered on his return trip. Often there was a race for the wharves between competing steamers.[129]

Many new boats were built immediately after the war and others were purchased and brought from the Ohio and the Mississippi in order to meet the transportation needs of the coal and iron mines being opened in the valley.[130] Iron was brought by water from mines in Roane, Rhea, and Meigs counties, and coal from Rockwood, Sale Creek, and Soddy.[131] Other boats carried on a sort of peddling trade along the river exchanging goods for poultry, eggs, butter, and other farm produce.[132] A typical load for a steamboat entering Chattanooga included 3,500 bushels of corn, 1,000 bushels of wheat, oats, butter, eggs, and potatoes, and twenty passengers.[133]

In March, 1867, the most disastrous flood in history occurred on the Tennessee River. Most of the bridges were destroyed, and thousands of dollars worth of property was swept away. A steamboat that made a trip to Loudon during the flood was able to go up a high-

[125]Knoxville *Free Press*, December 1, 1867.
[126]Biggs, Railroad Transportation, 38.
[127]*Whig*, July 21, 1866.
[128]Livingood, "Chattanooga," *loc. cit.*, 41.
[129]T. J. Campbell, *The Upper Tennessee* (Chattanooga, 1932), 58.
[130]*Ibid.*, 57-58.
[131]*Ibid.*, 59.
[132]Livingood, "Chattanooga," *loc. cit.*, 41.
[133]Chattanooga *American Union*, January 30, 1868.

way bed one and a half miles to the town of Washington in Rhea County. In Chattanooga the same boat steamed up Market Street five blocks and could have gone farther had the Mayor not urged return to the river bank, in order not to endanger the tottering foundations of the partially submerged frame buildings.[134]

The focussing of attention on the river that came as a result of the flood may have been an important factor in the movement that arose during the following year for river improvement. This movement seems to have originated in Chattanooga. In February, 1868, a meeting was called there to discuss ways and means of getting federal aid to remove obstructions to river traffic near Chattanooga and at Muscle Shoals, Alabama. It was decided to call on the county courts of the Tennessee Valley to appoint delegations to an East Tennessee-wide convention. The Chattanooga meeting pointed out that such improvements would provide an outlet for East Tennessee mineral and farm products and at the same time make the importation of manufactured goods from the North and tropical foods cheaper and in greater volume.[135] Cities as well as county courts elected delegates to the East Tennessee convention. The Chattanooga City Council appointed forty delegates and appropriated $100 for their expenses.[136] The meeting which was held on March 18, 1868, in the city hall at Chattanooga, had about 125 delegates in attendance. Knox, Hamilton, Rhea, Monroe, Roane, Sullivan, and Marion counties in Tennessee, as well as the cities of Chattanooga and Knoxville, were represented, and delegates also came from Marshall County and the towns of Decatur, Tuscumbia, Bellefont, and Huntsville in Alabama. There was even one delegate representing the city of St. Louis. The Tennessee River Improvement Association was formed with Colonel T. R. Stanley of Chattanooga as president.[137] This association started the agitation for federal aid in river improvement which reached its ultimate fruition in the Tennessee Valley Authority.

While East Tennessee was still an overwhelmingly rural society in 1869, the first slow steps toward industrial development had been made. Thus were laid the first stones of the foundation for the exploitation of the region's abundant raw materials in the twentieth century.

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[134]Campbell, *Upper Tennessee,* 63-64.
[135]Chattanooga *American Union,* February 8, 1868.
[136]*Ibid.,* March 15, 1868.
[137]*Ibid.,* March 19, 1868.

PAPERS FROM THE SPANISH ARCHIVES RELATING TO TENNESSEE AND THE OLD SOUTHWEST,

1783-1800

Translated and Edited by

D. C. Corbitt and Roberta Corbitt*

(Continued from the East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications*, Nos. 9-19)

XII—April-June, 1789

WHITE TO MIRÓ, NEW ORLEANS, APRIL 18, 1789[1]

To his Excellency Don Estivan Miro Governor of the Province of Louisiana

Sir

As you have been pleased to direct, I present your Excellency, in writing, the substance of what Mr. Gardoqui has engaged me in.

That gentleman, in the character of Minister of Spain authorized me to insinuate to the western americans in general, that Spain would upon favorable terms grant her protection to them, to form a connection with the King's government separate from any other. Insinuations have been made accordingly, & the people have manifested a strong bias towards what has been proposed.

With respect of Franklin in particular, the spanish minister gave me letters to their leading men, & directed me to asure them, from his authority, that if it was their wish to come under the protection of Spain, & into its allegiance, they should be protected in their Civil police, & internal government most agreeable to themselves on the following terms: "1º that they shall make it a prerequisite not only towards possessing any office, but to holding any lands among them that an oath of allegiance to the King be previously taken to defend his government, as faithful allies, upon all occasions, and against all his enemies whatsoever: 2º to abjure the authority of, & dependence on, any other power." To these conditions they have cheerfully consented; & the minister has referred them to your favorable patronage, & assistance, in this first step to a more extensive connection.

Your Excellency is so acquainted with the circumstances of the united States that it will be improper to remark on the occasion. The advantages that both parties have to expect from, & the favorable juncture of american affairs, for such a plan, will best occur to yourself.

But as I have been made instrumental in spiriting up of many of the principal people to act in a manner that will preclude us from living in

*For editors' introduction see the beginning of the first installment of these "Papers" in the East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications*, No. 9 (1937), 111-12. With few exceptions the letters printed are from transcripts and photostats of papers selected by A. P. Whitaker from the Papeles de Cuba in the Archivo General de Indias (hereafter cited as A.G.I., P.C.), Seville, Spain, for the McClung Collection in the Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville, Tennessee.

[1]A. G. I., P. C., legajo 2370. This letter seems to correspond to enclosure No. 2 mentioned in Miró to Valdès, April 30, 1789, below.

peace under the government of North-Carolina; and as this has been to me reposing confidence in the encouragement & assurances of a minister sanctioned with the royal authority; I hope it will be deemed reasonable to entreat that something may be done to give them a refuge under the King's protection: & if the instructions hitherto received from his Majesty do not exactly authorise you to grant what Mr. Gardoqui imagined might be conceded, I hope your wisdom & benevolence will propose something as near it as you may think consistent.

With respect to cumberland from whence you have had the late accounts; we comprehend that country in the same view; & the circumstances of which you have lately been informed were probably in consequence of letters brought to Col. Robinson [Robertson], from Mr. Gardoqui. . . .

James White

New-Orleans
Ap'l 18, 1789.

MIRÓ'S MEMORANDUM OF CONCESSIONS TO WESTERNERS, APRIL 20, 1789[2]

Stephen Miró Colonel of his most catholic Majesty Forces Commander in chief and over the Province of Louisiana & West Florida & Intendant of the same Whereas Mr. James White esqr. applied to me in behalf of the Districts of Franklin, & Miró formerly Cumberland in whose welfare he showed himself deeply interested I duly do appoint & authorize the aforesaid Mr. White to make Known to the Inhabitants of the afore mentioned Districts how much my most gratious Sovereign is inclined to favor and protect them by the only motive of generosity, being acquainted of the great interest they will meet with in the following Articles,

It will be permitted to every good Inhabitant to come down & settle in the Province of Louisiana either at Natchez or any other place of both Misisipi's shores. they will not be molested on religious matters, although no other public worship will be permitted to be publickly exercised than that of Roman catholic Church: Land shall be granted to them at their arrival in proportion of the hands, or facultys each Family should have; they will have the liberty of importing all their property in any produce whatsoever of the Country without paying any duty whatever, with the absolute freedom to dispose of the said property in the Posts they should pass by or in this town:[3] in the mean time they ought to be acquainted that they must bring with them provisions for the first year as has been done by those that have come down till this time, immediately after their arrival they shall enjoy the same franchises & privileges as the other subjects of his most Catholic Majesty, under the condition they shall at the same time take the due oath of allegiance & bound themselves only to take up arms in defence of this Province against whatsoever enemy who could attempt to invade it.

2. His most gracious Majesty generously grants the inhabitants of those Districts the trade with this town, & so they will be able to bring down Pelletry, tobbacco, flower, provisions, & every other produce of their Country, which will be in their power to sell at their own pleasure, although

[2]A. G. I., P. C., legajo 2370. This is a draft in English of the memorandum, the wording of which indicated that it was prepared by a person whose native tongue was not English. It was probably written by Don Andres Armesto, the secretary in New Orleans.

[3]New Orleans.

they shall not pretend their tobbacco to be taken for his Majestys account, if it is not wanted: this trade carried on by those who should not choose to settle in this Province can not be permitted but under the duty of fifteen per cent which is in my power to diminish in favour of men of influence, who should apply to obtain this favor, & who should be made known to me by Mr. White medium.

3º Upon the proposal the afore mentioned Gentleman made me respecting the wishes of those Districts in order to make a connexion with the Court of Spain, after disseviring [*sic*] themselves from the United States it is not in my power to stipulate any thing, nor to promote the scheme: because the good understanding subsistent between his most catholic Majesty & the United States prevents it: for that same reason the Inhabitants of the afore mentioned Districts ought to promote the idea more convenient to their own interest, & should it happen that thay could obtain their absolute independence from the United States then his Majesty will grant them the favor, succour, & other advantages consistent with his royal bounty, & agreeable to the situation wherein they should find themselves, & compatible with the interests of the Crown.

Given under my hand and sealed at Arms countersigned by the Secretary for his Majesty of this Province at New Orleans the twentyeth of April one thousand seven hundred & eighty nine

WHITE TO MIRÓ, NEW ORLEANS, APRIL 22, 1789[4]

His Excellency Governor Miro—

Sir,

I am under the necessity of applying to you for assistance to proceed on the business which has been honored with your approbation.

Mr Gardoqui assured me that as the service was connected with a concern of the King's, his treasury would facilitate me to bear the expenses. From this assurance I payed no attention to letters of private credit which I might have procured—The funds I had myself provided have been consumed by shipwreck, & unexpected long delays, so that I am obliged to have recourse to your complaisance & the ministers promise.

The journey, & length of time till I can rely on other relief, will require about four hundred dollars to enable me to treat with ease & decency among those people. . . .

James White

New Orleans Apl. 22d. 1789

MIRÓ TO WILKINSON, NEW ORLEANS, APRIL 23, 1789[5]

My dear Friend

I thought it would be in my power to write you more extensively by Captain Dunn but found myself disappointed on account of his hastily return before the time I expected, since the scarcity of time prevents me, for although I am at work from seven in the morning till dinner time, and from five in the evening till eleven in the night can not fulfill all the obligations I am under, & whose number all at once are much increased, for this reason I will limit myself to send you enclosed under no 1st the duplicate of the letter I sent you by Ballinger, although I was very desirous to be more explicit in different points chiefly in having of what a [illegible]

[4]A. G. I., P. C., 177. This corresponds to enclosure No. 6 mentioned in Miró to Valdèz, April 30, 1789.

[5]From a draft in A. G. I., P. C., 2370. This letter corresponds to enclosure No. 5 mentioned in Miró to Valdès, April 30, 1789.

it [was?] your promising the emigration, in which you will do me great service to the Spain, if as I hoppe, you send in large quantity Familys of some property.

Notwithstanding the scarcity of time it is necessary for me to acquaint you with a new arriving affair, which I will do begging you will keep in your breast in perfect secret the names of those I should mention, that in any time the confidence I can make you may not prejudice them, assuring you upon my word of honor that I avoided carefully to mention you nor even have I uttered your name, although it has been necessary to speak of the Impositions of Kentucky.

Dn. Gardoqui turnes to the interest of Spain Mr. James White, Member of Congress, who has property in Miro District, formerly Cumberland, & sent him to the State of Franklin to induce the inhabitants to part from the union of the united States, & to form with us a Connexion. Mr. White at his return to New-York told Don Gardoqui that the affair was in a very [illegible] & that the leading men were in [illegible] determined after having performed the intended separation, to take the oath of allegiance to the Spain obliging themselves to form not any connexion or alliance with any Power whatsoever; & to take up arms for the defence of this Province in case we might be invaded on that quarter, reserving only for themselves the peculiar privilege of being rulled by themselves. Mr. Gardoqui not being able to do more by himself, induced White to take a passage on King's Vessel ready to sail for the Havana, recommending him to our Captain general, who accordingly sent White here, telling me, to act in view of his transactions agreeably to my faculty.

The above mentioned White arrived here eight days ago & explained me his project in writting, in the light that I have already explained. My decision has been to cause him to go by land to Miro's and Franklin's Districts, giving to his proposal the Answer you will see by the copy ND [enclosed?]

I have just now received letters, the first from Colonel James Robertson dated 29th January Last, and the second from Brigadier General Daniel Smith dated the eleventh March both from Miro's District; the latter sais that they gave my name to that District formerly called Cumberland, adding farther, that Mr. Fagot officer of Illinois Militia who was lately at Nashville about some private affairs of his own, would deliver me his letter referring himself to him for any further intelligence about the dispositions of the inhabitants, of that District; of course Fagot informed me, that they would send in September next Deputys to North Carolina which Province is to open her Assembly the first Monday of November following, to obtain an Act of separation from her, that once acquired, they will appoint others to this town to put themselves under his most Catholic Majesty's protection.

The letter of the former has been delivered to me by his son-in-law, in whose behalf he interests himself warmly, asking for him a permission to come down with his Family, with an equal request for himself, in order that, according to [reports?] his son-in-law would bring him he may decide himself to come down in the same manner.

I gave answer to both referring myself to that given to Mr. White who will deliver them my letter.

You plainly see by this confidence that in my opinion you are always the principal active Part in our favor & Consequently, I hope you will be so good as to give your opinion in this transaction after having taken the

information you should think proper explaining me every thing which may tend to eludicate my Behavior, as well as the importance of those two Districts which I am doubtful may be yet of great moment, being not able notwithstanding to take a different measure than I have done, as you see Don Gardoqui sent me the afore mentioned White. It was convenient you should be acquainted with this busyness should it be conducive to prevail with those Districts to act in Conformity with Kentucky, separation from the United States being resolved.

I have just now a strong Representation to the Court for extending the Purchase of tobacco to eight Millions of pounds entreating his Majesty to send order to Mexico, that I may have the Money here in the Month of February, offering at the same time to incline the Ministry to it that should this quantity be taken I could diminish the price to eight dollars an hundred spanish weight nevertheless do not be overhasty in making contracts untill my advice, for as soon as I receive a favorable answer I will send you an Express in order that you may be acquainted with anticipation to others, and consequently do your business.

I anxiously expect your letters to know what has been transacted after your last. Would to God I may soon embrace you as a Deputy of that state.

the most affectionate expressions to you from M[rs]. Miro, from both to your beloved Lady, and remember always your intimate friend.

MIRÓ TO SMITH, NEW ORLEANS, APRIL 24, 1789[6]

New Orleans 24th April 1789

Sir

I acknowledge the favour of your excellency's letter of 24th March last, in which after mentioning which Concerns to the particular affairs of Mr. Fagot, your excellency expresses the great confidence you have in him, & refer yourself to [him] for any further intelligence respecting that District.

By the answer I gave to the proposals of Mr. White Esqr. who will deliver you this, you will see how ready his most Catholick Majesty is to support, & promote the welfare of the Inhabitants of that District; the same will be convenient to the application done by Mr. Fagot, adding only that I anxiously expect the Consequences of the operation you are to transact in September next, & for my own part I can assure you that I will endeavour as much as it lays in my power for the support and prosperity of those Inhabitants.

I avail myself of this opportunity, because the particular interests of Mr. Fagot will not perhaps permit him to visit your country so soon.

You can depend upon that you shall have the same right and privilege I mentioned in the answer delivered to Mr. White, to the diminution of the dutys, which will be six per cent, for all you may send on your own private account.

With regard that you say respecting the Indians, on which the afore said Mr. White also spoke me very particularly I tell you that I induced Mr. Alexander McGillivray to make peace with the District under your Command, & in answer to this he sais that he promised to the Governor of North Carolina that Indian Creeks will not make wars in that Quarter; nevertheless I am about to writte him that since the receipt of yours I am more warmly concerned in it.

[6]A. G. I., P. C., 2370. See comment in Miró to Valdés, April 30, 1789.

I have not any connexion with the Cheroquis and Mascuten Indians, notwithstanding as they now and then present themselves at Illinois I will give advice to that Commander to induce them to be peacefull, the former waited on the said Commander in the Month of May of last year & asked permission of settling themselves on the west side of Mississippi River, which is granted, & if they settle themselves there I think it would be the best service could be done for those inhabitants on this account.

I have had the greatest satisfaction in the honour I received in being acquainted that the Inhabitants of your District have distinguish my name with the preferring it for the denomination of the Country, which impels me more and more towards their increase and prosperity, wishing the inhabitants be happy, & enjoy the tranquility they aim at, for which I pray the Almighty God.

I am extremely flattered with the proposal you make me of holding a mutual correspondence. in which I expect to find motives to serve you, being with the most sincere regard, and esteem . . . .

[unsigned]

His Excellency Danl. Smith Brigt. gl,
& Commander of Miró District &ca &ca

[TRANSLATION]

MIRÓ TO VALDÉZ, NEW ORLEANS, APRIL 30, 1789[7]

His Excellency Don Antonio Valdéz
No 37

Eight days ago there arrived in this Capital Dr. James White sent by Don Diego de Gardoqui who tells me that upon his [White's] return from the Ohio Settlements where he had been sent, he assured him [Gardoqui] that he had discharged his commission so satisfactorily that he did not deem it safe or decent to continue his residence in New York, for which reason he decided to come to this City to continue under my direction, promoting our cause directly. Gardoqui concludes by recommending him highly to me and asking me to help him, with the understanding that I am to give a complete account of everything to His Majesty.

Since Don Diego de Gardoqui did not inform me of the District to which he had sent Mr. James White I supposed that it was Kentucky, that being the principal one, and what he obtained from it would constitute a precedent for the others, but on his arrival here I see that it is the State of Franklin, which I had already been informed has taken off the mask and is working Independently of the United States, in such a manner that without Dr. White it would doubtless have turned to me, as appears in what is stated in the letter from Mr. John Sevier included under No. 1[8] which was sent by Gardoqui, who has already made known to the aforesaid Sevier that he should come to me, which he has not done yet because his son has been put in prison in North Carolina. For this reason this important matter is suspended in that District.

In the State of Franklin itself, opinion is divided in such a way that a part of its inhabitants, although I do not know whether a majority, want to continue subject to Congress, and to the State of North Carolina; there-

[7]A. G. I., P. C., 177. There is a copy in A. G. I., P. C., 86-6-17.

[8]This seems to refer to Sevier to Gardoqui, September 12, 1788. Spanish translation and a re-translation into English in Archibald Henderson, "The Spanish Conspiracy in Tennessee," *Tennessee Historical Magazine*, III (1917), 234-235, 244-245.

fore, I consider it of little use for us to intermeddle in this matter; nevertheless, it would not be well to ignore their propositions; wherefore I have resolved, in view of Letter No. 2,[9] that the said White shall go by land to the aforesaid District of Franklin with my reply in the terms which Your Excellency will see in document No. 3,[10] in which I have followed the confidential Royal Order of December 1 issued in reply to my representation No. 13.[11]

At the same time Don Antonio Fagot, Second Lieutenant of Militia of the Post of Illinois, has arrived from the District of Cumberland with a letter from Brigadier General Daniel Smith who has his property there and is Governor of the district. This District depends also on that of North Carolina, although it is not a part of Franklin. After telling me in this letter about a private affair of the said Lieutenant, and requesting me to see that the Indians do not bother them, he observes that I should believe everything he tells me about the sentiments of the people of that District, and concludes by saying that they have given the district my name: the letter being dated from the District of Miro, March 11, 1789.[12] The said Fagot has informed me that Colonel Robertson, one of the principal men there, arrived in January last at Nashville, which is the Capital, returning from the Assembly of North Carolina with the news that the said assembly had approved the use of my name for the District in question that was previously called Cumberland, which name is retained by the river that flows through it. It is composed of four Counties: Davidson, Sumner, Green, and Tenesee; Nevertheless, I do not think it is very thickly populated, for according to reports it does not contain over ten thousand Souls.

By virtue of the Credentials of the said Brigadier, Fagot has assured me that in September next Commissioners will start for North Carolina in order to be in the Assembly which is to open the first Monday in November, and that in it they will ask to be allowed to separate from North Carolina. They are persuaded that they will obtain this permission, after which Deputies will come down to offer to place that District under the dominion of His Majesty.

I have informed the aforesaid White of all this and have given him the reply for the Brigadier in question in the terms that appear in Copy No. 4,[13] inducing White to use his good offices to persuade the district to join

[9]See White to Miró, April 18, 1789, above.

[10]Miró to Robertson, April 20, 1789, A. G. I., P. C., 2370 (photostat in the McClung Collection). It is printed in "Robertson Correspondence," *American Historical Magazine,* I (Nashville, 1896). In this letter, delivered by "Colonel" or "Doctor" James White, Miró professed to be highly pleased with "the good intentions of the People of that District." The report of an attack planned on New Orleans he was sure was false and he expressed the hope that Robertson and his associates would so view the story that the Spaniards were encouraging the Indians to attack the Cumberland settlements. He was really urging McGillivray to make peace with the Americans and would write him again because of Robertson and Smith's requests, and would instruct the commandant at St. Louis to do likewise with the Cherokees and Mascutens, some of whom occasionally visited that post. Miró also professed to be highly pleased at the prospect of Robertson's son-in-law's coming down to settle in Spanish territory, and would have been more pleased if Robertson himself had come with his family. He promised exemptions and privileges listed in the Memorandum of Concessions to Westerners (printed above), which was signed on the same day as the letter and also dispatched by White.

[11]A translation of this representation is printed in installment IV of these "Papers," *Publications,* No. 12 (1940), 102-109.

[12]Printed in installment XI, *Publications,* No. 19 (1947), 97.

[13]Miró to Smith, April 24, 1789, printed above.

that of Franklin and make common cause, and I have written to him, without naming any Person, about the intentions of Kentucky, with the idea that he may promote a deputation to this State on the part of the aforesaid Districts, in order that they may work in unison to achieve separation from the United States.

It has seemed opportune to me also to write to the previously mentioned Brigadier James Wilkinson in the manner which your Excellency will see in No. 5.[14]

The reply which I have given to White, and which he should show to the Notables of the districts of Miró and Franklin, I have tried to word in such a way that, even if miscarries, the United States cannot complain, and orally I have charged him to exert himself as much as possible to obtain the desired separation. In accord with his Letter No. 6 [15] I have ordered that he be given from the Treasury here the 400 pesos he requested, a moderate amount for such a long journey.

In consequence of all this I may have here when I least expect it the Deputies asking me for help, and I Beg Your Excellency, therefore to be kind enough to bring this to His Majesty's attention and to authorize me, if it please His Majesty, to provide for them. I also beg Your Excellency to obtain the royal approval for the operation that I have indicated, and for the four hundred pesos given to Mr. White. . . .

New Orleans, April 30, 1789

[unsigned]

[TRANSLATION]

MIRÓ TO GARDOQUI, NEW ORLEANS, MAY 2, 1789 (DRAFT)[16]

Señor Don Diego de Gardoqui.

The Individual [17] whom you sent me by way of Havana has arrived here, and intends to begin an overland trip tomorrow for the places where he was employed by you: no one has arrived yet from there with the purpose mentioned in the letters which you enclosed to me under date of last October 10, which is all the news that I have for Your Excellency whose life I pray may be prolonged for Many years. New Orleans, May 2, 1789

[TRANSLATION]

MIRÓ TO VIAR, NEW ORLEANS, MAY 2, 1789 (DRAFT)[18]

My dear Sir: Together with your esteemed letter of last November 23 I received from Captain Francisco Campos of the Frigate *Concepción* which arrived at this port with a group of families from that continent, the carbine and bullet-mold which James White left upon his departure for Havana. This gentleman, to whom both were ordered to be given, has just arrived from that Port.

Thank you for your kind expressions of esteem and with the assurance of its requital believe me yours with sincere regards and desires for your well being. Senor Don Josef Ignacio de Viar.

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[14]Miró to Wilkinson, April 23, 1789, printed above.
[15]White to Miró, April 22, 1789, printed above.
[16]A. G. I., P. C., 104.
[17]"Colonel" or "Doctor" James White.
[18]A. G. I., P. C., 104.

MIRÓ TO McGILLIVRAY, NEW ORLEANS, MAY 10, 1789[19]

New Orleans 10th May 1789

Sir

By a letter dated the 25 of April of last year you informed me that two Deputys from Cumberland had arrived to that Nation to sue for Peace on the conditions you should judge proper to impose upon them, exhibiting you proof that more than forty years before this a Company of Virginia purchased the County of Cumberland from the northern & Cheroquis Indians.

I received lately letters from Brigadier General Daniel Smith Govr. and Captain General of the aforesaid District, & Colonel Robertson one of the Deputys you mentioned to me intreating me to induce you that the Creeks should make a peace with Cumberland they acquaint me that with the approbation of the State of North Carolina the name of Cumberland was changed in that of Miró, which transaction as you see is highly flattering to me, & I make not the least doubt from the knowledge and experience I have of your friendship, & good qualitys that you will show to them how much value my recommendation to you is, and since the hostilitys already ceased, as you wrote me you will exert your power to make peace with the State of Miró, and accordingly I answered them that entertaining the best idea of my friendship with you I had reasons to believe you will comply with my recommendation with the highest pleasure, being sure of my promise . . . .

[unsigned]

[TRANSLATION]
CABELLO TO VALDÉZ, HAVANA, JUNE 6, 1789[20]

No. 1

Very Confidential Most Excellent Sir

In fulfillment of the Royal order in which Your Excellency communicates to me under date of March 23 last, the propositions of Mr. James White, a Member of Congress who went to Louisiana under the name of Jayme Dubois, I advise the Governor of New Orleans of the decision of His Majesty about the way to treat this person and of the plan to be followed with respect to the State of Kentucky according to the provisions of the confidential Royal order of December 1 of last year sent to that Governor.

That he should persuade the People of the States of Franklin and Cumberland to seek a way for exporting their products by other Seaports than by way of the Mississippi River and New Orleans.

And that Lieutenant Colonel Don Manuel Gayoso de Lemos shall make the trip that he planned and reported on last January 3rd, through these same States and that of Kentucky which will be very useful for a first hand view and other things that he will learn; Which is what Your Excellency advised with these ends in view . . . .

Havana, June 6, 1789.

Most Excellent Sir

Domingo Cabello

Duplicate

His Excellency Señor Don Antonio Valdéz

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[19]A. G. I., P. C., 202.

[20]A. G. I., P. C., 86-6-17. Cabello was provisional captain general of Louisiana and the Floridas (and also of Cuba) from 1789 to 1790.

[TRANSLATION]

FOLCH TO MIRÓ, FORT ST. STEPHEN, JUNE 12, 1789[21]

No. 171

Confidential

There has just arrived from the Chickasaw Nation William Carney,[22] a well-to-do man, and a trader in the said Nation, whose arrival makes it possible for me to give you the news that you requested on May 22.

In order to fully inform you about what is going on among the Nations that surround us, I will Relate all the news that has come to my notice.

During their sojourn here the Choctaws informed me that a party of Creeks composed of thirty men had come to one of their villages, offering to give guns for permission to pass through to strike a Blow against the Natchez District, but the gifts had not been fruitful.

According to what Carney tells me, when the Creeks saw that it would not be possible to open a way through this Nation, they turned to the Chickasaws, from which they continued to the Mississippi, saying that they intended to sack the Dwellings of the Natchez District.[23]

Some days ago a war party of some one hundred and thirty Creeks started out with the intention of striking a Blow at this District; but on learning that it would not be possible to surprise me, they returned and headed for the Chie Nation to attack our Settlements on the Mississippi.

When I sent for the Choctaw Chiefs, I also sent for those of the Chies. The former came with a retinue of more than two thousand Warriors and Women; but not one of the latter came, and they have sent me a reply to the effect that since they are friends of the Creeks they did not want to take part in anything that might be directed against them.

For some time I have known that McGillivray was trying to form an intimate friendship with the Chickasaws, and it is clear that he has achieved it, having had equal success with the Cherokees . . . .

Fort St. Stephen, June 12, 1789.

Vincente Folch

Señor Don Estevan Miró

JAMES TO FOLCH, CHOCTAW NATION, JUNE 17, 1789[24]

Chactaw Nation June 17th Day 1789

Sir . .

I received your Letter to me in regard of Coody & Cobb[25] leaving your District by Carney;[26] as for Coodey I heard he Past through this Nation to the Chies but I had not the Oppertunity of Seeing of him as for Cobb he came to My House as Soon as he Came to the Nation I Desir'd him to goe back Immediately but he Pled that he had no Provisions Nor none that he Could gitt in the Settle Ment he had no Money to buy it he Says that he will goe back Without the Indians taking him back he was to have

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[21]A. G. I., P. C., 52. Fort St. Stephen had just built a few miles above Mobile.

[22]For more about William Carney see Forbes to Pousset, September 30, 1790, *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, XXI, No. 4 (December, 1937), 380. For mention of his brother Arthur see James to Folch, June 17, 1789, printed below.

[23]On May 22, 1789 Miró had protested to McGillivray about the attack. J. W. Caughey, *McGillivray of the Creeks* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1938), 232-233.

[24]A. G. I., P. C., 201.

[25]Arthur Coodey, or Coody, was a Cherokee. See James to Folch, October 3, 1788, *Publications*, No. 18 (1946), 132. Cobb was probably another Cherokee.

[26]This seems to refer to William Carney, the Chickasaw trader.

Started this Day with My Horses but he has Disappointed Me the Indians dont Seem forward to Execute your Orders Without Pay and I have no goods to give them and the Particular fellows is from Home Howsomever I Shall Endeavor to Send Him of [off] down in a few Days. the Provd accounts of James Berrey and James Davenport against arthur Carney[27] I Send Inclosed William Rollings Rect. I Sent Down Before Since which he has Swore to Phillip Hays is going Down himself and Will give his Complaint before you I am your Most Obt Humble Servant

Ben. James

N. B. I am informed by a white Man from the Creeks that the Americans Hoolds a treaty Withe the Creeks on the twentyeth of this Month at the Oconey River

B. J.—

Addressed on the back:
Capn. Folch Commanding
his Most Catholick Majesties
Forces Cyvill and Military
at Mobile . . .

[TRANSLATION]

MIRÓ TO VALDÉZ, NEW ORLEANS, JUNE 18, 1789[28]

No. 89 Most Excellent Sir.

Under date of April 2 Don Diego de Gardoqui advises me that he has given a Passport to Don Pedro Brian Browin,[29] who was a Colonel in the United States Army, in order that he may come down by the Ohio with one hundred persons to settle in this Province: I received this notice on the 10th, and the same day I had one from the Commandant at Natchez saying that the said individual had arrived with another twenty-three men, five women, seven children, and thirty-one negroes in two *Chalanes*. The said Brian Browin is the same person that prepared the memorial discussed in the Royal Order of July 14 of last year, and his Father made the voyage to this city by way of French Cape in order to return home, and he had not yet arrived there when his son departed, for which reason he will come with other families.

Since the last of April thirty-seven men, twelve women, thirty-six children, and eight Negroes have arrived at Natchez from Kentucky and Cumberland; those from Kentucky saying that the praises of the Spanish government expressed by Wilkinson on his return there, together with his reports about the felicity of the inhabitants of this Province, had moved them to begin the voyage; and those from Cumberland stated that they came because of like reports by other persons, both parties being uncertain whether or not they would be admitted here, their desire to emigrate having been

[27]Arthur Carney was a trader in the Choctaw Town of Oku Copole. See the list of Choctaw town and traders prepared by Juan de la Villebeuvre, A. G. I., P. C., 201 (photostat in the McClung Collection). James Davenport had been killed by the Chickasaws in 1787 by order of McGillivray. The identity of Berrey and Rollings is not clear.

[28]Archivo Historico Nacional, Secretaria de Estado [Madrid, Spain, transcript in McClung Collection, Lawson McGhee Library], 3888.

[29]Colonel Peter Bryan Bruin settled in Natchez district and became one of the leaders o fthe communtiy. See A. P. Whitaker, *The Mississippi Question*, 1795-1803 (New York and London, 1934), 201, note 28.

influenced in no way by Don Pedro Wouves D'Arges [30] since no report from him had arrived there.

All have expressed great satisfaction with their reception by the Commandant at Natchez, and have sworn allegiance, obligating themselves to take up arms in defense of this province, even against the settlements up the River if their inhabitants come down to invade it, which oath seems not to have appeared unreasonable to them . . . .

New Orleans, June 18, 1789.

Esteban Miró
(signed)

Duplicate
His Excellency Don Antonio Valdéz

[30]See *Publications*, No. 16 (1944), 95, note 34. Miró was strongly opposed to the scheme of colonization that Pierre Wouves D'Arges had presented to the government.

WRITINGS ON TENNESSEE HISTORY, 1947

Compiled by Martha L. Ellison

Allen, Penelope Johnson, transcriber. Tennessee soldiers in the war of 1812. Regiments of Col. Allcorn and Col. Allison, Chattanooga, Tenn. society, U. S. Daughters of 1812, 1947. 65 p.

Armstrong, Walter P. Walter Chandler—citizen, lawyer, soldier, public servant. (Tenn. law rev. Feb. '47. v.19: 775-782)

Bejack, L. D. The history of Bell county. (West Tenn. hist. soc. Papers no. 1: [24]-37. Plan)

Brigham, Clarence Saunders, comp. History and bibliography of American newspapers, 1690-1820. Worcester, Amer. Antiquarian society, 1947. 2v.

Brown, Elizabeth M. First English explorers cross North Carolina mountains. (D.A.R. mag. May '47. v.81: 234-236)

Burnett, Edmund C. Big Creek's response to the coming of the railroad: 'Old Buncombe' promotes the better life in a rural community. (Agric. hist. Jl. '47. v.21: 129-148)

Campbell, Dorcas Elizabeth. Your career in banking. N. Y., Dutton, 1947. ("A horseback banker," p. [64]-76. Sketch of Charles W. Bailey, First National Bank Clarksville)

Campbell, James B. East Tennessee during the federal occupation, 1863-1865. (East Tenn. hist. soc. Pubs. no. 19: [64]-80)

Chandler, Walter. The Memphis navy yard, an adventure in internal improvement. (West Tenn. hist. soc. Papers no. 1: [68]-72)

Cody, Annie E. History of the Tennessee division United Daughters of the Confederacy. Nashville, Cullom and Ghertner [1947] 374 p. illus., ports.

Corbitt, D. C. ed. Papers from the Spanish archives relating to Tennessee and the old southwest, 1783-1800. XI—January-March, 1789. Tr. by D. C. and Roberta Corbitt. (East Tenn. hist. soc. Pubs. no. 19: [81]-97)

Coulter, Ellis Merton. South during reconstruction, 1865-1877. (History of the south v.8) Baton Rouge, La. state univ. press, 1947. 426 p. illus., maps.

Creekmore, Pollyanna and Luttrell, Laura E. comps. Death notices, 1791-1813, from Knoxville newspapers and Sevier's diary. (East Tenn. hist. soc. Pubs. no. 19: [110]-119)

Day, Donald. The life of George Washington Harris. (Tenn. hist. qr. Mr. '47. v.6: 3-38)

DesChamps, Margaret Burr. Early days in the Cumberland country. (Tenn. hist. qr. Sept. '47. v.6: 195-229)

Dreyfus, Frederick Jonas. Life and works of George Michael Wharton, M. D. (Pseudonym "Stahl"), 1825-1853. (Tenn. hist. qr. Dec. '47. v.6: 315-336)

Echoes from the Cherokee exodus. (Tenn. folklore soc. Bul. Mr. '47. v.13: [1]-9) [4 legends contributed by students of Tenn. Wesleyan college]

Ellison, Martha L. comp. Writings on Tennessee history, 1946. (East Tenn. hist. soc. Pubs. no. 19: [120]-123)

Emerson. O. B. Frances Wright and her Nashoba experiment. (Tenn. hist. qr. Dec. '47. v.6: 291-314)

Fink, Paul M. Fifty years of freemasonry, 1823-1873; Rhea lodge no. 47, Jonesboro, Tennessee. (East Tenn. hist. soc. Pubs. no. 19: [25]-47)

Frank, John G. tr. and ed. The haunted mill. (Tenn. hist. qr. Mr. '47. v.6: 47-59)

Govan, Gilbert E. Some sidelights on the history of Chattanooga. (Tenn. hist. qr. Je. '47. v.6: 148-160)

———————— and Livingood, James W. The university of Chattanooga: sixty years. Chattanooga, Univ. of Chattanooga, 1947. 271 p. plates, ports.

Green, John W. Bench and bar of Knox county, Tennessee. Knoxville, Archer and Smith, 1947. 267 p. illus., ports.

————————. Grafton Green. (Tenn. law rev. Je. '47. v.19: 865-869. port.)

————————. Lives of the judges of the Supreme Court of Tennessee, 1796-1947. Knoxville, Archer and Smith, 1947. 337 p. illus., ports.

Gresham, L. Paul. Hugh Lawson White, frontiersman, lawyer and judge. (East Tenn. hist. soc. Pubs. no. 19: [3]-24)

Grise, George C. Samuel Watkins. (Tenn. hist. qr. Sept. '47. v.6: 251-264)

Gunther, John. Inside U. S. A. N. Y., Harper, 1947. 979 p.

Harbert, P. M. Early history of Hardin county. (West Tenn. hist. soc. Papers no. 1: [38]-67)

Hargrett, Lester. A bibliography of the constitutions and laws of the American Indians. Cambridge, Harvard univ. press, 1947. 124 p. [Nine-tenths are from Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw and Creek nations]

Horn, Stanley F. ed. Some Jackson-Overton correspondence. (Tenn. hist. qr. Je. '47. v.6: 161-175)

House, Boyce. Cub reporter, being mainly about Mr. Mooney and the Commercial Appeal. Dallas, Tex., Hightower press, 1947. 175 p.

Howse, Mrs. Ruth Whitener. Folk music of West Tennessee. (Tenn. folklore soc. Bul. Dec. '47. v.13: [77]-88. map)

[Hubbs, Mrs. Ferol Frost] Index to early Greene county, Tennessee, wills. (D.A.R. mag. Jan. '47. v.81: 11-14. Cont. from Dec. '46)

Jordan, John L. Was there a massacre at Fort Pillow? (Tenn. hist. qr. Je. '47. v.6: 99-133)

Jordan, Weymouth T. ed. George W. Campbell's journal of the French spoliations claims commission, 1832-1835. (East Tenn. hist. soc. Pubs. no. 19: [98]-109)

Keele, Robert L. Folklore of the branch line railroad. (Tenn. folklore soc. Bul. Mr. '47. v.13: 10-15)

Kincaid, Robert L. Pageantry of centuries to be unfolded at Cumberland Gap. (In Kentucky. Official pub. of the Commonwealth of Ky. 1947 winter ed.)

————————. The wilderness road. Indianapolis, Bobbs, 1947. 392 p. illus., maps.

Kroll, Harry Harrison. Darker grows the valley. Indianapolis, Bobbs, 1947. 400 p. [Novel of the Clinch valley from 1778 to time of TVA]

Lewis, Thomas M. N. and Kneberg, Madeline. The archaic horizon in western Tennessee. (Tenn. anthropology papers no. 2) Knoxville, Univ. of Tenn. Record. Extension ser. v.23: no. 4. Sept. '47. 39 p. illus., graphs.

Livingood, James W. Chattanooga: a rail junction of the old south. (Tenn. hist. qr. Sept. '47. v.6: 230-250)

McDowell, Lucien L. and McDowell, Flora Lassiter, comps. Memory melodies; a collection of folk songs from middle Tennessee. Smithville, The authors, 1947. 128 p.

McSpadden, J. Walker. Storm center, a novel about Andy Johnson. N. Y., Dodd, 1947. 393 p.

Martin, Isaac Patton. Church Street Methodists, Children of Francis Asbury; a history of Church Street Methodist church, Knoxville, Tennessee, 1816-1947. Knoxville, Methodist hist. soc. of Holston conference, 1947. 212 p. illus., ports.

Mason, Robert Leslie. Ten old English ballads in middle Tennessee. (Southern folklore qr. Je. '47. v.11: 119-137)

Miller, Mrs. Helen Topping. Sound of chariots; the novel of John Sevier and the state of Franklin. Indianapolis, Bobbs, 1947. 288 p.

Mitchell, Enoch L. ed. An Ebenezer Alexander letter. (West Tenn. hist. soc. Papers no. 1: [117]-118)

————————. The role of General George Washington Gordon in the Ku Klux Klan. (West Tenn. hist soc. Papers no. 1: [73]-80)

————————. ed. A Stone family letter. (West Tenn. hist. soc. Papers no. 1: [119]-122)

————————. Three letters of G. T. Stone. (West Tenn. hist. soc. Papers no. 1: [123]-126)

Mitchell, Mrs. Oscar Lee, comp. History of the Tennessee federation of garden clubs, 1926-1947. Knoxville, Holston printing co., 1947. 131 p. illus. (part col.), ports.

Moore, Mrs. John Trotwood, comp. Records of Commissions of officers in the Tennessee militia, 1811. (Tenn. hist. qr. Mr. '47. v.6: 60-70. Cont. from v.5)

Morgan, LeBerta H. ed. Staub school, a brief history of its fifty years of service to the community together with the organization, growth and accomplishments of its parent-teacher association. Knoxville, History committee, Staub P. T. A., 1947. 74 p. illus.

Neuman, Robert B. Notes on the geology of Cades Cove, Great Smoky Mountains National Park, Tennessee. (Jour. of Tenn. acad. of science, Jl. '47, v.22: 167-172. illus.)

Odum, Howard W. The way of the south; toward the regional balance of America. N. Y., Macmillan, 1947. 350 p. [Only slight reference to Tennessee]

Osborn, George C. ed. Some letters of William T. and Sarah Fitzgerald. (Tenn. hist. qr. Je. '47. v.6: 179-185)

————————. The wit and humor of Private John Allen. (West Tenn. hist. soc. Papers no. 1: [91]-102)

Owens, Susie L. The Union League of America: political activities in Tennessee, the Carolinas and Virginia, 1865-1870. N. Y., N. Y. univ., 1947. 23 p. [An abridgement of a dissertation]

Parks, Joseph H. ed. Letter describes Jackson's last hours. (Tenn. hist. qr. Je. '47. v.6: 176-178)

Pattie, Frank A. ed. The last speech of William Jennings Bryan. (Tenn. hist. qr. Sept. '47. v.6: 265-283)

[Rogers, E. G.] Charles Faulkner Bryan. (Tenn. folklore soc. Bul. Je. '47. v.13: 42-47) [Biography of a contemporary Tennessee musician, composer and author]

Seymour, Charles M. A history of one hundred years of St. John's Episcopal church in Knoxville, Tennessee, 1846-1946. Knoxville, Vestry of St. John's parish, 1947. 295 p. illus., ports.

Simkins, Francis Butler. The south, old and new: a history, 1820-1947. N. Y., Knopf, 1947. 527 p. illus.

Smoky mountains hiking club. 1947 handbook. Knoxville, The club, 1947. 64 p. illus.
Stockell, Albert W. Church trials in the early days of Tennessee. (Tenn. law rev. Ap. '47. v.19: 823-825)
Taylor, Joe Gray. Andrew Jackson and the Aaron Burr conspiracy. (West Tenn. hist. soc. Papers no. 1: [81]-90)
Warden, Margaret Lindsley. The fine horse industry in Tennessee. (Tenn. hist. qr. Je. '47. v.6: 134-147)
Williams, Emma Inman, ed. Letters of Adam Huntsman to James K. Polk. (Tenn. hist. qr. Dec. '47. v.6: 337-369)
———————. Some letters of Elijah Bigelow and his family. (West Tenn. hist. soc. Papers no. 1: [103]-116)
Williams, Samuel Cole. Early iron works in the Tennessee country. (Tenn. hist. qr. Mr. '47. v.6: 39-46)
———————. William Tatham-Wataugan. 2nd rev. and ltd. ed. Johnson City, Watauga press, 1947. 109 p.
Wingfield, Marshall. Writers and writings of West Tennessee. (West Tenn. hist. soc. Papers no. 1: [3]-23)
Worden, William L. Sons of the legend. (Sat. eve. post. Oct. 18 '47. v.220: 28-29+) [Malungeons in Tennessee]
Wright, Nathalia. The East Tennessee background of Sidney Lanier's *Tiger Lilies.* (Amer. literature. May '47. v.19: 127-138)
———————. Montvale springs under the proprietorship of Sterling Lanier, 1857-1863. (East Tenn. hist. soc. Pubs. no. 19: [48]-63)

UNPUBLISHED DOCTOR'S DISSERTATIONS, 1947

Vanderbilt University
Alexander, Thomas Benjamin. Political reconstruction in Tennessee

BOOK NOTICES

Books to be noticed will be those bearing directly or indirectly upon some phase or phases of the history of Tennessee. There is no intention of reviewing books critically; the purpose of the *Publications* will be served in supplying bibliographical data and in indicating something of the nature of the subject matter.

Lives of the Judges of the Supreme Court of Tennessee, 1796-1947. By John W. Green of the Knoxville Bar. (Knoxville: By the author, 1947. pp. ix, 338. Illustrations, index, $3.50.)

"The Court of Last Resort of Tennessee has not always been known as the Supreme Court. The Constitution of 1796 styled it the Superior Court. The Legislature in 1810 changed it to the Supreme Court of Errors and Appeals. The Constitution of 1834 named it simply the Supreme Court, and the Constitution of 1870 gave it the same name and it has so continued ever since. The number of judges composing the high tribunal has varied from time to time. . . . The length of the terms of service has also varied. Under the Constitution of 1796 it was 'during good behavior'; under the Constitution of 1834, it was twelve years, and by amendment in 1853 it was lowered to eight years; under the Constitution of 1870, it is eight years, under the Constitutions of 1796 and 1834 the judges were elected by the Legislature. Under the Constitution of 1870 they are elected by the 'qualified voters of the State.' In 1831 the Legislature passed an Act establishing the office of Chief Justice and elevated John Catron, then serving as a justice, to that position. He filled the office until 1834 and was the first and only Chief Justice until the adoption of the Constitution of 1870 when A. O. P. Nicholson was selected by his associates to fill the position." (Preface.)

Included in this volume are brief sketches of the lives of seventy-five judges, arranged chronologically. They are listed alphabetically, however, in the index.

Bench and Bar of Knox County, Tennessee. By John W. Green of the Knoxville Bar. (Knoxville: By the Author, 1947. Pp. iv, 269. Illustrations, index, $3.50.)

"The first court in Knox County was held July 16, 1792, and was composed of Justices of the Peace and General James White, the founder of Knoxville, was the chairman. Even before the establishment of Knox County, pioneer lawyers settled in the new communtiy and were largely instrumental in the establishment of courts and the erection of a court house. Down through the years as the population and importance of the County increased, the number and importance of the lawyers also increased. From the beginning the bar of Knox County has taken rank with the best bars of the State. Including among its members are the names of some great lawyers who achieved nationwide fame. Many others reached the highest places of trust and honor in the State and in Knox County, and the biographical sketches comprising this volume were written with the feeling that the record of the lives of these eminent lawyers and the lives of less known but worthy and able members of the profession should not be forgotten, and also with the hope that they might serve as an inspiration to young lawyers to come." (Author's Preface.)

Included are sketches, of varying length, depending on availability of data, of eighty-four lawyers, arranged chronologically. They are listed alphabetically, however, in the index. Included also is an autobiographical sketch of the author.

Church Street Methodists, Children of Francis Asbury: A History of Church Street Methodist Church, Knoxville, Tennessee, 1816-1947. By Isaac Patton Martin. (Knoxville, Tennessee: The Methodist Historical Society of Holston Conference, 1947. Pp. 212. Frontispiece, illustrations, appendix, index. $2.00.)

"Church Street Church has preserved her official records for more than a century. Her care of these records is worthy of commendation. A careful study of these records indicates that the accomplishments of this Church are both interesting and instructive.

The Church was fifty-five years old before it was given an official name. It was simply the Methodist Church (in Knoxville). For nearly twenty years it was on a circuit, covering a territory which now comprises seven counties. After it becomes a station (a church with full-time pastor) it continued without a name for forty years. It was given the official name Church Street Church in 1871. From the beginning it was an unpretentious Methodist Church.

Forty years ago I was the pastor of this church for four years; and, in more recent years, was with them for four years as presiding elder. During this association with them I became acquainted with the entire congregation and came to esteem them for their culture and devotion. The careful study and research incident to the writing of this history has been an experience of communion of saints of several generations. There has been no effort at idealization. The people who appear in these pages were men and women—not angels. The events which transpired were not councils of perfection—they were sometimes lacking in wisdom. The aim of this History has been to record events as they occurred; and to portray persons as they were. Whenever this History falls short of that aim, it may be attributed to inability on my part." (Foreword.)

St. John's Episcopal Church, Knoxville, Tennessee, 1846-1946: *Annals of its First Century.* Compiled and edited by Charles M. Seymour, Parish Historiographer. (Knoxville, Tennessee: Vestry of St. John's Parish, 1947. Pp. xvi, 295. Illustrations. $3.75.)

"In connection with the Centenary Celebration, it has been thought timely to compile a short history of St. John's Church and Parish to help preserve a record of some of the worthwhile works of this Parish and of some of its communicants who have helped to make St. John's a worthy spiritual influence upon the life of the City.

"Knoxville was more than fifty years old when St. John's Parish was organized, and was the second largest city in the State, although it had a population of less than 2000,—so it is that St. John's Parish has been one of the leading organizations in the religious and civic life of the City since it was a mere village; and the founding of St. John's was not without active opposition from some of those in the community who were fearful 'of any form of prelacy.'

"Despite the fact that the Parish has lost no records by fire or vermin, nevertheless the same have not always been kept in sufficient detail, and it

has proven quite a task to ascertain and check the information set forth in this book." (Preface.)

Tennessee Soldiers in the War of 1812. Volume I. Transcribed by Penelope Johnson Allen. (Chattanooga, Tennessee: The Tennessee Society, Daughters of the war of 1812, 1947. Pp. 65.)

"The list of Tennessee Soldiers in the War of 1812 here presented is copied from photostats now in the Tennessee State Library made from original Muster and Pay Rolls in the War Department at Washington, D. C.

"For convenience these photostats have been bound into volumes and the list here printed covers Volume I which includes the Regiments of Colonel John Allcorn and Colonel Ewin Allison. . . .

"Many of the original sheets are badly mutilated and a careful check of names between Muster and Pay Rolls has been made to insure accuracy. Where names were illegible on the Muster Rolls used, they were supplied from the corresponding Pay Rolls." (Preface.)

History of the Tennessee Division, United Daughters of the Confederacy. By Annie E. Cody, author and compiler. (Nashville, Tennessee: Tennessee Division, United Daughters of the Confederacy, 1947. Pp. 374. Illustrations, list of officers serving at conventions.)

"It has been the dream of Tennessee Division as far back as 1906, to have a history written. At that time, Mrs. William Hume, Chairman, Mrs. Caroline M. Goodlett, and Miss Susie Gentry were appointed to write a history. This fifty-two page history was printed in 1909. Since then other committees have been appointed for another history.

"Mrs. Robert Backman, as Division President, revived this committee; and I was the new Chairman, appointed. My committee has varied with members other than the Past Division Presidents, and reports given at each Division Convention, with recommendation that the history be printed. This was voted on both by the Convention and the Board.

"I have tried to include the activities and interests of the organization for the fifty years of Tennessee Division by administrations and the history of the objectives of our great organization. In all probability, there will be things omitted, but it was not my intention to omit any, and I beg of you to remember that it was unintentional." (Preface.)

A Bibliography of the Constitutions and Laws of the American Indians. By Lester Hargrett, with an introduction by John R. Swanton. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1947. Pp. xxi, 124. Plates, appendix, index. $4.00.)

"This volume contains a descriptive list of the printed constitutions, and the statutes and session acts and resolutions passed by properly authorized bodies, of once semi-independent and self-governing Indian tribes and nations of the present United States, together with a few biographical and historical notes. Of the 225 publications described, well over one-third, many of them of the highest importance, have not hitherto been recorded in any connection, and the scant bibliographical information about the others is widely scattered and often imperfect." (Preface.)

Included are Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, and Creek nations, which were at one time important in Tennessee history.

The South During Reconstruction, 1865-1877. By E. Merton Coulter. Vol. VIII of *A History of the South,* ed. by Wendell Holmes Stephenson and E. Merton Coulter. (Baton Rouge, Louisiana: Louisiana University Press, 1947. Pp. xii, 426. Illustrations, footnotes, critical essay on authorities, index, $5.00.)

"Americans have generally called the fifteen years following the Civil War the Reconstruction period, and writers in this field until recently have let the reconstruction processes crowd out of their narratives every-day developments in the lives of the people. This custom has been especially true of those who have written about the South; for this region, being a war casualty, became the victim of a Federal government experiment. The biggest news was always what Congress was doing to the South, or what the agencies it had set up were doing; and these happenings were what Southern leaders thought about most, wrote about most in their private correspondence, and what the newspapers published. It is, therefore, easiest to present this most evident picture. There were, nevertheless with all the political and constitutional abnormalities of the times, the ordinary activities of the people, as they sowed and reaped, went to church, visited their neighbors, sang their songs, and sought in a thousand ways to amuse themselves. The point of view set forth in this work in the *South* during Reconstruction—not *Reconstruction* in the South. . . ."

"As each new generation feels constrained to rewrite the past, points of view and methods of approach necessarily change, and so revisionists arise. If they remain within the reasonable bounds of established facts, they may well make lasting contributions in fresher interpretations and in the presentation of new information; but if they depart from the old channels to attract attention in novel and unsubstantiated points of view, they themselves may soon be revised. The author of this work feels that there can be no sensible departure from the well-known facts of the Reconstruction program as it was applied to the South. No amount of revision can write away the grevious mistakes made in this abnormal period of American history. This writer, therefore, has not attempted it. Departing from the usual, however, he has sought to discover as far as possible what were the aspirations of Southern white Radicals and Negroes and what was their defense against charges made by traditional Southerners. It is hoped that evidences of this attempt will be found in the folowing pages." (Author's Preface.)

Travels in the Confederate States: A Bibliography. Compiled by E. Merton Coulter. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1948. Pp. xvi, 289. Editor's [Thomas D. Clark] Foreword, index. $7.50.)

"This is the first of several Southern volumes to be published in the American Exploration and Travel Series. Professor E. Merton Coulter has examined a large quantity of personal and descriptive material of the Civil War period, and has analyzed it effectively and concisely. He took the pains to chart on maps, where possible, the routes followed by each author, and to pass on this information to his reader in his annotations. Neither Professor Coulter nor the editor assumes that this volume is a complete coverage of material of this type for the years 1861-1865. Both of us are familiar with the contents of the voluminous *Bibliography of State Participation in the Civil War,* 1861-1865, published by the War Department in 1913, and recognize that even it, with its all but unlimited space, is far from comprehensive. Professor Coulter's bibliography does, however, represent a thoughtful analysis of a major portion of the more significant Civil War travel sources.

"The compiler has adjudged this selection of material on the basis of its descriptive values. His main questions were: What was the South like during the war years? and How did its people respond to war conditions? Equally important was the effect of war on the region. What destruction did the territory suffer? what was the reaction to federal soldiers to prison life? What were their reactions to the destruction, carnage, and pillage of war? In addition to the soldier reaction was that of nonmilitary observers. Among these were journalists, foreigners, visitors, and innocent victims caught within the grip of war. This volume has approached the subject of travel and description with the intent of evaluating a major block of material without being too much concerned with why the authors were traveling. Soldiers did not necessarily give up their powers of observation just because they were being moved about as involuntary travelers under the dictates of military discipline." (Editor's Foreword.)

The Territorial Papers of the United States. Compiled and edited by Clarence Edwin Carter. Vol. XIII, *The Territory of Louisiana-Missouri,* 1803-1806. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1948. Pp. xii, 641. $3.50.)

"This volume, which marks the resumption of the project after war-imposed curtailment, contains the official papers found in the archives in Washington pertaining to the Territory of Louisiana for the years 1803-1806. In all, three volumes are in prospect for the Territory of Louisiana-Missouri, 1803-1821, which comprised the entire area of the Louisiana purchase with the exception of the present state of Louisiana. The significance of the present work and its companion volumes lies in the fact that it presents for the first time a comprehensive documentation of the beginning of American administration of a region out of which no less than a dozen states of the Union were subsequently carved." (Press Release.)

Although not dealing directly with Tennessee history, this volume describes the activities of numerous Tennesseans and former Tennesseans in the Territory. For example, there are several letters concerning the alleged intrusion on the public lands of a certain John Smith of Tennessee.

The Memoirs of Cordell Hull. By Cordell Hull with the assistance of Andrew Berding. Two volumes. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1948. Pp. xxii, vi, 1804. Frontispiece, index, $10.50.)

"It has taken exactly two years to complete these memoirs. While they do not pretend to cover every item of our foreign relations during my nearly twelve years in office, I do not believe that any important development has been omitted. I have narrated events as I saw them and have drawn conclusions in the light of these events at the time. I have tried to be as frank, impartial, and accurate as is humanly possible." (Foreword.)

Darker Grows the Valley. By Harry Harrison Kroll. (Indianapolis and New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1947. Pp. 400.)

A novel dealing with the history of the Clinch Valley region of East Tennessee from 1778 to the time of TVA.

The Sound of Chariots: a Novel of John Sevier and the State of Franklin. By Helen Topping Miller. (Indianapolis and New York: the Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1947. Pp. 288. Map on end papers.)

"And as for those sounds of anarchy and revolt which you claim to hear from across the mountains, I tell you, gentlemen, those sounds are the rumblings of a people on the march. They are the sounds of the creaking muscles and straining bones of a nation stretching to manhood, moving westward with the journeying of the sun. They are the sound of chariots, more terrible than the chariots of Nebuchadnezzar, the echoes of a movement that will some day leave your little states washed up on the dry banks of their own indifferences." (Giles Hanna to the Continental Congress.)

Storm Center: A Novel about Andy Johnson. By J. Walker McSpadden. (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1947. Pp. 393.)

In "A Word of Explanation" the author states in part: "This manuscript was bequeathed to me by my grandfather, who died near the turn of the century. He had kept copious notes of the momentous scenes in which he too was an actor, but had failed to publish them in his own day, because of the enduring rancor of the Reconstruction; and, being a peace-loving man, he did not want to add fuel to the flames. He charged me to hold it at least until another generation had brought a broader outlook to both North and South, trusting that in the course of time simple justice might be done to a much maligned and misunderstood public servant."

The East Tennessee Historical Society held its annual banquet at the Farragut Hotel in Knoxville on October 3 with Harvey Broome presiding. The speaker was Dr. Robert Lee Kincaid, president of Lincoln Memorial University and author of *The Wilderness Road.* His subject was "The Wilderness Road in Tennessee."

The Calvin Morgan McClung Award of $50.00 for the best paper in *Publications* No. 19 was given to James B. Campbell, former graduate student at the University of Tennessee and now assistant professor of history at Bradley University, Peoria, Illinois. His paper dealt with "East Tennessee During the Federal Occupation, 1863-1865." The judges were: Ray A. Billington, Northwestern University; H. Baillie Carroll, University of Texas; John B. Clark, Lincoln Memorial University, and George B. Harmon, Lehigh University. The prize is given by Mrs. C. M. McClung of Knoxville.

Papers presented at the monthly meetings of the East Tennessee Historical Society in 1847 were:

January. "Fifty Years of Freemasonry, 1823-1873: Rhea Lodge No. 47, Jonesboro, Tennessee," by Paul M. Fink of Jonesboro.

February. "The Corporate History of Knoxville," by Percy M. Pentecost of Lebanon.

March. "Stills and Mills of the Smokies," by H. C. Amick of Knoxville.

April. "Union and Secession Sentiment in East Tennessee, November 1860-June 1861," by Dr. Verton M. Queener of Maryville.

May. "The Great Indian War Path and Modern Roads," by Rev. I. P. Martin of Knoxville.

June. "Hugh Lawson White, Frontiersman, Lawyer and Judge," by L. Paul Gresham of Nashville.

November. "History of Johnson Bible College," by Harry C. Wagner of Knoxville.

December. "The Civil War Soldier in East Tennessee as revealed in Diaries, Letters and Other Unprinted Sourses," by Miss Pollyanna Creekmore of Knoxville.

In accordance with the amending clause of the Society's constitution (printed in *Publications* No. 13), Article Four, Section 2 of the constitution was amended by vote of the Society at three successive meetings, June, October, and November, providing for an enlargement of the executive committee by increasing the number of members at large from one to three.

Officers of the East Tennessee Historical Society for 1948 elected at the December meeting are: LeRoy P. Graf, president; James S. Bowman, vice-president for Knoxville area; Judge Samuel Cole Williams of Johnson City, vice-president for Upper East Tennessee; Culver H. Smith of Chattanooga, vice-president for Lower East Tennessee; Pollyanna Creekmore, sec-

retary; Martha L. Ellison, treasurer; Harvey Broome, Verton M. Queener, Laura E. Luttrell and Harry Hyman, members of the executive committee. S. J. Folmsbee was reelected managing editor of the *Publications* with LeRoy P. Graf as associate editor. Daniel M. Robison of Vanderbilt University and Joseph H. Parks of Birmingham Southern College were elected to three-year terms on the editorial board. On the death of Judge Williams in December, Paul M. Fink of Jonesboro was elected in his place.

Two charter members of this Society died in 1947:

Miss Olive Watkins, who with her sister and brother-in-law, Dr. and Mrs. E. B. Powers, joined the Society at its organization in 1925, died at her home in Tyler, Texas, in August.

Mr. W. O. Whittle, member of a pioneer East Tennessee family died January 4. Mr. Whittle was much interested in historical research, one of his last projects being the writing of a historical sketch of First Methodist Church of Knoxville.

In this 20th year of the *Publications* it is fitting to include here a complete list of charter members and thus give deserved recognition to those individuals who initiated the organization of this society in 1925-26.

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Mrs. Herman Schenk, Jr.
Miss Olive Watkins*
Miss Kate White*
Mr. William O. Whittle*

*Deceased

Stanley F. Horn of Nashville, member of the East Tennessee Historical Society and president of the Tennessee Historical Society, is the author of *Gallant Rebel,* the story of the Confederate cruiser *Shenandoah,* published in 1947 by Rutgers University Press.

Two historical studies by Dr. LeRoy P. Graf, member of the University of Tennessee History Department and associate editor of the East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications,* were published in 1947. The April issue of *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* contained the article, "Colonizing Projects in Texas South of the Nueces, 1820-1845." "Soldier Entertainment a Hundred Years Ago" was printed in *Theatre Annual* 1946, issued in 1947.

A luncheon honoring Dr. Robert Lee Kincaid was given by the Huguenot Society in Knoxville on June 14. The occasion was the publication of Dr. Kincaid's book *The Wilderness Road.* On the same day an autographing party for Dr. Kincaid was held in the book department of Miller's.

The famous "Bell Witch" legend of Tennessee was made the subject of a secular folk cantata for soloist, chorus, and orchestra. The world premiere

was held in Carnegie Hall, New York, on April 14, 1947. The composer is Charles F. Bryan of McMinnville, Tennessee, who received a Guggenheim fellowship for achievements in symphonic arrangements.

The officers of the Tennessee Historical Society elected at the December meeting are: Stanley F. Horn of Nashville, president; Samuel Cole Williams of Johnson City, vice-president for East Tennessee; R. C. B. Howell of Nashville, vice-president for Middle Tennessee; Walter Chandler of Memphis, vice-president for West Tennessee; Mrs. Rhea Garrett, vice-president at large; Robert T. Quarles, Jr., recording secretary; and Sam L. Fleming, treasurer. On the death of Judge Williams in December, Mary U. Rothrock of Knoxville, was elected in his place.

A joint regional meeting of the Madison County Historical Society, the West Tennessee Historical Society and the Tennessee Historical Society was held in Jackson on February 11, 1947. Harrison Brown, editor of the Jackson *Sun,* presided. A portrait of General William T. Haskell, Mexican War hero, congressman, Whig orator, and attorney of Madison County, was unveiled. The portrait was painted by Miss Pearl Saunders of Jackson and Nashville, who was present. Miss Emma Inman Williams, author of *Historic Madison,* read a paper on Civil War days in Madison County, as revealed in the diary of Robert Cartmell, a slaveholder near Jackson.

The Tennessee Historical Commission at the December meeting voted to approve a program of placing uniform markers on highways at or near points of historical interest. The committee appointed consists of Dr. Robert H. White, chairman; Stanley F. Horn, Mrs. John Trotwood Moore. Commissioner C. W. Phillips of the State Highway Department was appointed an honorary member.

The 1947 General Assembly appropriated $2,500 to restore the Old Rock House in White County near Sparta, on the old Knoxville to Nashville stage road. The site was purchased by the state in 1941, and a museum is planned to be maintained by the Rock House Chapter, Daughters of American Revolution at Sparta.

The Tennessee Historical Commission has purchased from a New York dealer portraits of General James Winchester and General James Robertson. That of Robertson is supposed to be the only likeness painted from life.

A committee has been appointed by the Tennessee Historical Commission to head a movement for a new building to house the state library and archives. Those constituting the committee are Mrs. Rutledge Smith, chairman; Mrs. Penelope J. Allen, Miss Zella Armstrong, Miss Mary U. Rothrock, Mrs. John H. DeWitt, and Mrs. John Trotwood Moore.

Among the recent acquisitions of the Southern Historical Collection of the University of North Carolina are many items pertaining to Tennessee. Among these are papers of Samuel Davis McReynolds (1872-1939), member of Congress from Tennessee; papers concerning the Heiskell family of Tennessee, chiefly those of Samuel Gordon Heiskell (1859-1923); papers of

Charles W. Dabney (1855-1945), chemist, assistant secretary of agriculture, president of the Universities of Tennessee and Cincinnati; papers of Edward W. Carmack (1855-1908), editor, representative and senator from Tennessee; papers of Robert L. Caruthers (1800-1882), member of Congress, delegate to the Peace Conference of 1861, state supreme court justice, governor of Tennessee, and founder of Cumberland University; diary, 1881-1887, of J. W. Fort, and diary, 1907-1937, of his son, Sterling Fort, both of Tennessee.

The finest collection of Indian flints in North America, dug up in Humphreys County, Tennessee, in 1894, and since that time preserved in the museum of the Missouri Historical Society, have been purchased by the state of Tennessee. The flints, along with other Indian relics have been displayed in the University of Tennessee Library under the direction of the Division of Anthropology. The Link farm on Duck River where the flints were found was a ceremonial center in prehistoric times.

An act passed by the 1947 General Assembly providing for a state library building to house also the collections and museum of the Tennessee Historical Society. The act, authorizing bonds to cover the building program for several state buildings, totals twenty million dollars of which $1,500,000 will be used for the library.

The Lives of Eighteen From Princeton contains a biographical essay on Phillip Lindsley (1786-1855), by John E. Pomfret. Lindsley, a graduate of the class of 1804, was a pioneer educator of the Cumberland country. He declined the presidencies of six colleges including that of the College of New Jersey (later Princeton) in 1824 to become president of the University of Nashville.

Estes Kefauver, member of Congress from the Third Congressional District of Tennessee, is the author of *Twentieth Century Congress* in collaboration with Dr. Jack Levin.

Stanely F. Horn, president of the Tennessee Historical Society, addressed the Tennessee Library Association on "The Writing of Tennessee History" at the Association's meeting held at the Hermitage Hotel in Nashville, October 23-24.

A portrait of Prentice Cooper, former governor of Tennessee, painted by Howard Chandler Christy, was presented to the state on April 21, 1947. The portrait will be hung in the State Library along with the other governors' portraits.

E. E. Patton of Knoxville and member of the Tennessee Historical Commission has been a contributor of local and national historical articles to the *Knoxville Journal* since January 26, 1947.

Judge Grafton Green, member of the Tennessee supreme court since 1910, and chief justice since 1923, died in Nashville, January 27, 1947. He was a sustaining member of the Tennessee Historical Society.

A portrait of Thomas Emmerson (1773-1837), first mayor of Knoxville and active in early Tennessee journalism, has been presented to the Lawson McGhee Library by his descendants. The portrait, long in the possession of his great-grandaughter, Mrs. Lelia Kate Smith of Knoxville, is in need of restoration. When restored it will hang in the library.

Dr. St. George L. Sioussat, since 1938 chief of the Division of Manuscripts and incumbent of the Chair of American History at the Library of Congress, was awarded honorary Doctor of Humane Letters by Lehigh University on October 1. Dr. Sioussat was professor of history and economics at the University of the South, 1904-11, and professor of history at Vanderbilt, 1911-17. During 1915-17, he edited the *Tennessee Historical Magazine.*

Dr. Jennings B. Sanders, former head of department of history at University of Tennessee and more recently president, Memphis State College, is now specialist in higher education with United States Office of Education. At present he is engaged in research on *Zeal for American Democracy.*

The recently organized Alabama Historical Association has completed plans to begin publication in January, 1948, of a quarterly magazine, to be called *The Alabama Review. The Review* will be published by the University of Alabama Press, and W. S. Hoole, director of libraries at the University of Alabama, will serve as editor. The publication "is to be a medium of intelligent expressions of life in Alabama and, in so far as it may reflect on Alabama, of the life of the South both past and present."

In 1947 the Virginia World War II History Commission, Charlottesville, published *Gold Star Honor Roll of Virginians in the Second World War,* edited by W. Edwin Hemphill. Scheduled for publication in 1948 by the Albemarle County Historical Society, Charlottesville, is *Pursuits of War: the People of Charlottesville* and *Albemarle County, Virginia, in the Second World War,* also edited by W. Edwin Hemphill.

The Cumberland University Law School at Lebanon celebrated it one hundredth anniversary of its founding in 1847. The School claims the distinction of being the first law school in Tennessee or the Southwest.

In St. Joseph, Tennessee, a church was dedicated in November, 1947, to the *Sacred Harp* Singers of the South (non-denominational). The church is to serve as the home center of the Tennessee Valley Sacred Harp Association, conceived and financed by L. P. Odem, chief promoter of the 1936 edition.

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DIRECTORY OF CONTRIBUTORS

Paul M. Fink, a business man of Jonesboro, Tennessee, has like the late Judge Williams long been interested in research and writing in Tennessee history.

Pollyanna Creekmore, of the Lawson-McGhee Library, is secretary of the East Tennessee Historical Society.

For a sketch of the late Judge Samuel Cole Williams see the lead article in this number of the *Publications*.

Robert L. Kincaid, author of *The Wilderness Road*, is president of Lincoln Memorial University, Harrogate, Tennessee.

Harry C. Wagner is instructor of history at the University of Tennessee.

Verton M. Queener is chairman of the division of social sciences at Maryville College, Maryville, Tennessee.

James B. Campbell is assistant professor of history at Bradley University, Peoria, Illinois.

D. C. Corbitt is head of the department of history and government at Asbury College, Wilmore, Kentucky. His wife, Roberta Corbitt, assisted in the translations.

Martha L. Ellison is reference librarian and head of the McClung Collection, Lawson McGhee Library, and treasurer of the East Tennessee Historical Society.

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